



Daily Report

East Europe

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'State of Emergency' at Border, Unrest Reported

AU0905094590 Vienna DIE PRESSE
in German 9 May 90 p 2

["ag." report: "State of Emergency at Albanian Borders?"]

[Text] Athens/Tirana—New unrest is reported from Albania. According to a border soldier who fled to Athens, a state-of-emergency situation actually exists at the borders. Guards were reportedly instructed to shoot without warning anybody who tries to flee. Meanwhile, Premier Adil Carcani announced in Tirana that Albania wants to participate in the CSCE and to end its isolation from foreign politics.

UN Development Official Visits Country

AU1005121090 Tirana ATA in English
0814 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Tirana, May 9 (ATA)—Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania received on May 9 at the premier's office seat, the UN General Vice-Secretary, administrator of the UN Development Program (UNDP), William H. Draper and the persons escorting him.

Attending were Muhamet Kapllani, deputy foreign minister, and Bashkim Pitarka, permanent representative of the PSR of Albania to the UN.

In the course of this meeting, Comrade Adil Carcani voiced his satisfaction that the projects realized so far due to the UNDP contribution have had their proper effect in the technological improvements, in the field of data processing and telecommunications, in applying the new contemporary methods in various branches of science, etc.

W.H. Draper appreciated the successes scored by Albania and expressed the readiness and commitment of UNDP for the further development of cooperation with our country in the fields of economy, science, culture, etc., and of the exchange of specialists and scientists of various institutions.

At the meeting it was appreciated the role of the UN for the democratization of international relations, as well as the cooperation in its context, with the organisms as UNDP and other specialized organizations.

Comrade Adil Carcani acquainted W.H. Draper and the persons accompanying him with the measures that have been adopted in the context of implementing the decisions of the 10th plenum of the Party Central Committee and the speech Comrade Ramiz Alia submitted to this plenum, with their approval at the People's Assembly, the measures adopted to improve the economic mechanism and the amendments in the field of legislation. He also pointed out that they have to do with the further development of the country, under the new created circumstances and which is simultaneously inseparable from the relations of our country with the foreign countries, the changes that have taken and are taking place in the world. Comrade Adil Carcani spoke to them on some fundamental aspects of the economic and social policy of our state, the organization and running of production relying on the self-activity and initiative of the working masses, the activity of independent account enterprises, the further promotion of the democracy of the whole life of the country, stressing that the measures that have been and are being adopted aim at further uplifting the people's well-being.

W.H. Draper appreciated the measures and thanked for the interesting conversation.

The reception passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Malile Meets UN Official

AU1005121490 Tirana ATA in English
0822 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Tirana, May 9 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Reis Malile, received the UN General Vice-Secretary, administrator of the UN Development Program, William H. Draper.

In the course of the talk, Comrade Reis Malile spoke of the recent world developments, particularly in Europe, and dwelt on Albania's relations with the world at present. Likewise, it was spoken of the role of the United Nations and its activity in the context of cooperation and particularly the contribution of UNDP to the realization of some projects with our country and the possibilities of intensifying our cooperation in the future.

Attending was also Bashkim Pitarka, permanent representative of the PSR of Albania to the UN.

On May 9 afternoon, William H. Draper, UN General Vice-Secretary, administrator of the UNDP and the persons accompanying him left our country.

Embassy Closings Among Changes at Ministry

*AU1005191690 Sofia BTA in English
1748 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Twenty Bulgarian embassies will be closed down this year. The list will be made public one of these days. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will save more than 2 million U.S. dollars and about 75,000 leva by the closures.

Announcing this in an interview for the DEMOKRATSIYA daily, published by the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, emphasizes that six months after the beginning of the changes in Bulgaria the ministry already operates without any outside interference.

For years on end the ministry and the Foreign Policy and International Relations Department of the former Central Committee of the Communist Party were closely interconnected and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] bodies even largely duplicated, paternalized, usurped the functions and meddled in the work of the ministry. "This, however, was not confined to the Foreign Ministry," Mr Dimitrov says. Before he was assigned the portfolio on November 17, 1989, he himself served as deputy chief of the International Department of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP in the course of seven years.

The minister says that the ministry now works with the presidency of the National Assembly, with the Parliament's Standing Committee on Foreign Policy, with the Government and with the president.

"This is only the beginning of the reform in the ministry. The matters will be legally settled only in the new constitution and with a diplomatic service act which we hope the Grand National Assembly will adopt," Mr Dimitrov says.

The elections for a Grand National Assembly will be held on June 10 and 17.

The minister admits that now there is no senior Bulgarian diplomat who is not a member of the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party. "Now that pluralism is already a fact in our political life, it is only natural that people belonging to different parties will be on the staff of the Bulgarian diplomatic missions," he goes on to say.

Two weeks ago the DEMOKRATSIYA daily reported that many of the Bulgarian diplomats working at the ministry and in missions abroad are close relations to members of the ruling party nomenklatura. Mr Dimitrov points out that the paper had a good reason to raise these questions. They are considered at the ministry, too, in the awareness that they are "a sore spot of personnel policy", the minister says.

Bulgaria now maintains diplomatic relations with 124 states and has about 80 embassies abroad, manned by nearly 1,000 diplomats and technical staff. After the staff cutbacks over the last few months, the missions abroad now employ a total of 540 diplomats and 440 technical staff. About 200 diplomats and 60 technical staff will be laid off soon. Since November 10, 1989 (when Todor Zhivkov was ousted from power), 17 ambassadors have been recalled and 12 of them have been pensioned off.

Before the cutbacks the upkeep of the Bulgarian missions cost 8.8 million dollars and 4 million leva (according to 1989 data).

"The closure of embassies does not imply a break off of diplomatic relations. Ambassadors based in neighboring countries will be accredited. We'll open new embassies in Israel and the Republic of Korea," the minister explains.

"When we made the cutbacks, we were uncompromising, even at the cost of moral compunction for me," he says.

DEMOKRATSIYA points out that it is surprised by the categorical way in which the minister declares himself in favor of a radical reform in the personnel policy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Hungary's Kis Visits at UDF Invitation

*AU1005191490 Sofia BTA in English
1805 GMT 10 MAY 90*

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Mr Janos Kis, chairman of Hungary's Union of Free Democrats visited this country at the invitation of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces. He met representatives of the Central Electoral Commission, law experts from the union, the chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces Central Electoral Club Mr Petko Simeonov.

French Premier Rocard Receives UDF Delegation

*AU1005204090 Sofia BTA in English
1900 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Paris, May 10 (BTA)—French Prime Minister Mr Michel Rocard received today the delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], led by SDS Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev. Mr Rocard said he was following with sympathy the democratization process in Bulgaria and expressed the hope that the traditional friendship between the two countries will be further promoted in the new conditions. Without expressing preferences for any party in this country, Mr Rocard said he would be ready to discuss a possible French aid with the future government.

Several spheres of the cooperation were discussed, considered the most promising ones as regards Bulgaria's needs and France's capacities. France is expected to assist tourism, the food industry, education and nuclear safety. France is ready to share its experience through training of Bulgarian specialists. It was noted that the

economic aid may be both bilateral and multilateral through France's support at the EC and other international organizations. Bulgaria's huge foreign debt was also discussed.

To a BTA correspondent's question after the meeting whether France will be in a position to help Bulgaria in this difficult period, Mr Rocard said: "I not only think this will happen, but we are already doing that with no delay."

The SDS delegation was today received by Mr Laurent Fabius, president of the National Assembly, by Mr Lionel Stoleru, state secretary of planning and by former Prime Minister Raymond Barre.

Complaints of Workers in Angola Viewed

AU1005154790

[Editorial Report] Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 19 on 9 May on page 13 publishes a 1,400-word report by Petya Terzieva-Pavlova, entitled "A Portion of Shame," concerning the conditions endured by Bulgarian specialists employed in Angola under contract with the "Tekhnoimpeks" Foreign Trade Corporation.

The writer begins by quoting from an open letter sent by 31 Bulgarians working in Luanda, who complain that they are forced to engage in trading on the side because of "the conditions under which Tekhnoimpeks, in a most dictatorial fashion, forces us to live." The reported complaints include that the workers have to sell cheap Bulgarian goods in order to buy food on the black market; "that Tekhnoimpeks insists that they receive their monthly salaries only in the local currency, kwanzas, which is insufficient; that their real salaries are concealed from them; and that they are not shown their contracts."

Terzieva-Pavlova discussed these problems at the Tekhnoimpeks offices with Stoitsa Radev, director of the Office for French-, Spanish-, and Portuguese-Speaking Countries, and with Borislav Dyakov, consultant for Angola and Mozambique. She reports that they told her that Tekhnoimpeks had always strictly observed the valid regulations, and that "payment in local currency is a requirement of the Angolan side." They added that Tekhnoimpeks contributed \$100 a month to the Bulgarian state budget from the money Angola paid for each specialist, and that it "deducts 30 percent of each specialist's salary in convertible currency and 20 percent of his pay in local currency for passport and visa fees and transport costs." According to the officials, Tekhnoimpeks sends food staples to the workers monthly, adding that "there are foreign currency stores in Luanda that anyone can use, including the Bulgarian specialists, but evidently most of them do not want to use their foreign currency for this."

After dismissing complaints about the transit accommodation and lack of a vehicle, the officials comment that "the Bulgarians in Angola do not live badly, but receive

wretched salaries" due to the unfavorable terms of the bilateral agreement signed with Angola in 1975, which does not provide compensation for inflation. The officials assert that "Tekhnoimpeks has been working for several years to get the regulations changed," and that new legislation for Bulgarians working abroad is under active consideration.

The writer then quotes Tekhnoimpeks General Director Dimitur Zhdrakov as stating that "the Bulgarians working in about 10 developing countries with which we have contract relations are threatening Tekhnoimpeks with ultimatums." Zhdrakov reportedly admits that conditions are bad in Angola, adding that "Bulgarians working abroad often threaten us with strikes, but in Angola, for example, strikes by both local citizens and employed foreigners are prohibited by law."

On the other side of the coin, Tekhnoimpeks official Kuncho Kunchev reportedly claims that many Bulgarian teachers employed in Angola are violating their contracts, mentioning two teachers who refuse to leave Luanda for their appointed places of work. Kunchev adds that "teachers are absent during the academic year, traveling to Bulgaria, Cuba, and Brazil at their own expense, obtaining their tickets illegally....," and that "every teacher has a prescribed working week of 18 hours, but many of them work far below the minimum, for only two or three hours, for example."

Terzieva-Pavlova ends with her assessment of "the critical situation": "loss of confidence, endless correspondence, uncertain hope of a new agreement soon." However, as she points out, "It is hardly ethical to display our dirty laundry in another state, where foreign legislation is in force."

Mladenov Greets, Invites Greece's Karamanlis

AU1005181790 Sofia BTA in English
1708 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Athens, May 10 (BTA)—"Throughout your activity as an eminent statesman from friendly Greece you have consistently and unswervingly adhered to the policy of peace, security, good neighbourhood and cooperation with all countries. You have made a weighty contribution to the all-round promotion of Bulgaro-Greek relations. I have no doubts that now assuming the highest-ranking post of the Republic of Greece, you will keep on working with your typical constructiveness for their further development and promotion, for their assertion as an important stabilizing factor on the Balkans," reads Bulgarian President Petur Mladenov's personal message to Mr Constantine Karamanlis, on his election to the presidential post. The message of greetings invites Mr Karamanlis to visit this country at his convenience in 1990.

TRUD Article on Macedonia Noted*AU1005155890 Sofia BTA in English
1509 GMT 10 May 90*

["Bulgarian Journalist Exposes Macedonism"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—The PIRINSKO DELO (Blagoevgrad) and the TRUD paper today carry a joint publication on the intrigues of the "Macedonists" inside and outside Bulgaria. The feature is headlined "Macedonism Is Not a Paper Tiger".

The author Velizar Enchev, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent in Belgrade, characterizes the propagandization of a non-existent "Macedonian nation" inside and outside Bulgaria's borders as a treason.

Concern is expressed over the separatist activity of Ilinden, the externally patronized anti-Bulgarian organization, the members of which national apostates, try to enroll for their cause part of the Bulgarians, declaring them to be "Macedonians".

The author expresses his disagreement with the fuss made over the visit of Milovan Djilas to Bulgaria who, according to Enchev, was presented by the Bulgarian press as a "martyr of the struggle for democracy". The journalist reminds that Djilas was "third in rank in the Yugoslav leadership top crust in the 1945-1955 period", that the "press in Yugoslavia is flooded with evidence exposing him as an active participant in the bloody repressions after the war", that "it was Djilas who pulled the strings in the Macedonian absurd theater, one of the anti-Bulgarian actions of which is now taking place before our astounded eyes".

Velizar Enchev points out that Milovan Djilas, Svetozar Vukmanovic (Tempo) and their associates "put to fire and sword every single root of the Bulgarian spirit in SR (Socialist Republic) Macedonia and then pompously spoke about fraternity and unity in the Balkans."

I am not a man to support territorial claims against any neighboring country, but nobody can deprive me of the right to condemn the people who annexed century-old Bulgarian lands and who are still cruelly wiping out everything that is Bulgarian there, Enchev writes.

The author insists that the whole truth should be told about the forcible "Macedonization" of the Pirin area in Bulgaria after 1944, that the martyrs defending the Bulgarian national spirit in Pirin who paid with their lives or with long years of repressions for their struggle against Macedonism should be rehabilitated, that the Macedonists' ethnic nihilism and anti-Bulgarian activity should be resisted.

Low Wages, Poor Labor Productivity Analyzed*AU1105083690 Sofia BTA in English
0708 GMT 11 May 90*

["The Price of Bulgarian Labor"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 11 (BTA)—The Bulgarian has to work the longest as compared to the Swiss, the Italian, the French, the Greek and the West German to buy whatever commodity: for a kilogramme of bread, 17 minutes, for a box of cigarettes, 42 minutes, while the Swiss, only nine; for a kilogramme of lamb, 4 hours 26 minutes, while the Italian, 44 minutes; for a bottle of beer, 25 minutes, while the West German 3.5; for a kilogramme of coffee, 25 hours, while the French 58 minutes; for a litre of petrol, 42 minutes, while the Swiss only three; for a colour TV set, 4 months, and this if he happens to find one in shops; for a Soviet-made car, 4 years, but waits over 15 years for his turn to come. The data are carried by the "168 Hours" weekly.

As compared to Austrians, the annual labour productivity of the Bulgarian is only 42 per cent. East Germans are top with 70 per cent, and Romanians bottom with 31 per cent. But "real socialism," the paper writes, has created such conditions in which the heart of any capitalist starts throbbing strongly: very low spending on manpower. The average annual salary in Bulgaria is 4,150 Austrian schillings [as received], higher than other East European countries. But when the Bulgarian exchanges it in Austrian banks he will receive just 266 schillings, and not 4,150 at the official rate. The difference is nearly 16 times. This is the real value of the Bulgarian lev. It is one of the currencies which have most lost the market confidence. The Hungarian forint is the only currency which is trying to be real.

If Austrian labour productivity is introduced in Bulgaria 840,000 Bulgarian workers will be redundant.

Registration of Parties for Election Ends*AU1005191390 Sofia BTA in English
1808 GMT 10 May 90*

["40 Parties To Contest Elections"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Today at 18 hours local time, the Central Electoral Commission ended the registration of the parties and coalitions to contest the elections. In accordance with the Electoral Law, May 10, a month before the elections is the deadline for registration at the Central Electoral Commission. 40 parties have done that, among them three opposition coalitions: the Union of Democratic Forces (11 parties), the Political Opposition Alliance (5 parties) and the United Popular Alliance (5 parties). After registration each political party/coalition receives the respective color of its ballot.

Today is also the deadline for regional electoral commissions to register the candidates for people's deputies in one-mandate and multi-mandate constituencies.

Minister Explains Interior Ministry Reform

AU1005143290 Sofia BTA in English
1332 GMT 10 May 90

["Minister of the Interior on Security Forces Reform"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—The reorganization of the security forces is almost completed, General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of the interior, stated at a news conference today.

He announced that the number of people working at the National Service for the Protection of the Constitution is 1,500. Within the competence of the unit lie counter-espionage, the struggle against terrorism and organized criminality and the combat against narcotics.

The ministry proposes that the National Investigating Department set up to replace the former Chief Investigating Office should be under the direct control of the National Assembly to avoid any distortions and abuses. The number of people working at the office is 1,200.

The numerical strength of the People's Militia totals 20,800; a great part of them will be subordinated to the municipal councils.

Military counter-intelligence will become a department of the Ministry of National Defense and not of the Ministry of the Interior as it has been up to now.

The members of the leadership of the Ministry of the Interior have been reduced by 40 percent; the leadership has been almost completely renewed, the minister announced.

Minister Semerdzhiev expressed his concern over the mounting political tension and the dangerous confrontation between the political forces which is conducive to incidents and poses a threat to national accord—a necessary prerequisite for the settlement of Bulgaria's serious problems. Polarization can really assume such proportions as to make it impossible for people to look each other straight in the eye, not to mention that they will not be able to work together at all.

The minister of the interior called upon all political forces to help the law enforcement units in keeping public peace and creating a peaceful and calm atmosphere at the time of the elections to be held at the beginning of June and after that.

For this purpose the security authorities have already taken away the weapons possessed by officials and functionaries, including the gun of the chairman of the National Assembly Stanko Todorov. In response to the appeal recently made by the Bulgarian Parliament, the citizens have returned 500 pieces of illegally possessed weapons. Steps have been taken to trace 860 rifles, pistols and 24 submachine guns which were stolen.

The militia will take away the 90,000 sporting guns in the country and will keep them at least at the time of the

elections. Hunters may be displeased if their sporting guns are kept by the militia until the end of the year, but Minister Semerdzhiev supports this idea.

Contacts have been already established in view of the establishment of the ministry-proposed independent public council for peaceful and undisturbed elections and for a non-violent transition from totalitarianism to democracy. It will be made up of representatives of the major political parties and organizations.

Minister Semerdzhiev expressed his concern over the growing criminality—15 thousand crimes in the first four months of the year or an increase of 10 percent compared with the same period last year. Especially alarming is the sharp increase of murders, rapes and other violations against personalities. This level is lower than that in other European countries—the annual number of crimes committed in Bulgaria is 571 per 100 thousand people, but the security forces are alarmed.

There are 1,200 registered drug addicts in Bulgaria. The country is not indifferent to the international efforts in combating the "white death". The struggle for cutting short the "Balkan connection" of the drug traffic destined to Europe continues. In the last four years the Bulgarian customs officers and border guards have seized 500 kg heroin and a far larger quantity of opium. A "shipment" of 29 kg heroin and several smaller ones have been seized this year. The competent authorities continue their cooperation with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, Interpol (Bulgaria's membership in it was renewed at the end of last year) and with other countries.

The supremacy of law, independence of any political parties and a ban on political activity in the security forces, openness and public control, selection of personnel exclusively on the basis of moral and professional qualities—these are the main principles in the work of the reformed security forces, Minister Semerdzhiev said.

Mladenov Meets Political Parties' Leaders

AU1005180790 Sofia BTA in English
1712 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Today President Mladenov received Mr Georgi Tsenov, chairman of the Christian-Democratic Party (Center), Mr Dimitur Marinovski, national coordinator of the Free Cooperative Party and Mr Ivan Edisonov, chairman of the Conservative Party, who expounded their political orientation and programs.

The leaders of the three parties criticized the work of the mass media and particularly so the radio and TV. Mr Tsenov voiced his disagreement with the fact that some political parties and movements usurp the right to speak on behalf of the entire opposition.

President Mladenov also met Mr Strakhil Gichev, secretary of Vrabcha-I Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The president was asked to cooperate for the restoration of the party's newspaper and of the right to ownership over its expropriated property.

Public Council Against Violence Forms

*AU1005191790 Sofia BTA in English
1714 GMT 10 May 90*

[Public Council Against Violence"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—Representatives of the political forces and movements in the country set up an independent public council for the non-admission of violence in political and social life.

The council will counter the attempts at violence and law violation, rallying the efforts of the public and the Ministry of the Interior. Its founders are categorical that a general public activity is needed to denounce and check violence. The political leaders should give an example in their election campaign.

The public council is eager to become a guarantor of order, security and calm of the Bulgarians before and during the elections. Similar local councils will also be set up.

BSP Supreme Council Protests Court Decision

*AU1005191590 Sofia BTA in English
1802 GMT 10 May 90*

["BSP (Bulgarian Socialist Party) Protests Over Court Decision"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 10 (BTA)—In a declaration the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) protests over the stalling of the investigation against three former militiamen, charged of lawlessness and killings at punitive camps between 1959 and 1962.

A Military Collegium at the Supreme Court has released retired General Mircho Spasov, former deputy interior minister and chief of department at the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party and Nikolay Gazdov and Tsvyatko Banovski, wardens at the punitive camps near Lovech from custody into house arrest. The Armed Forces prosecutor protested over this decision but the court left the protest unanswered.

In a declaration the BSP distances itself from the crimes perpetrated 30 years ago, and insists on the culprits of the outrages in the camps to be deservedly punished. Meanwhile it is stressed that the BSP cannot interfere in the work of the law-enforcement authorities.

The media has over the past three months carried a number of facts and testimonies to the immediate responsibility of Todor Zhivkov and the members of the then Political Bureau of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party for the establishment of the punitive camps for people without sentences in the late 50's and early 60's.

Likanov Visits Pleven for Election Rally

*AU1105100890 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] A preelection rally of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] took place on 10 May in Pleven. Some 30,000 people participated in the rally. The registration of the candidacy of Andrey Lukanov as people's representative from the 52d election district was announced.

In his major campaign speech, Andrey Lukanov said: Today we mark the six-month anniversary of 10 November 1989. After that memorable day, we started to live in a society that restores itself, a society of free people, free press, and in a country that has been relieved of fear and military-camp discipline.

Andrey Lukanov later pointed out that the process of democratization in Bulgaria is irreversible, and that the forthcoming Grand National Assembly elections are a unique chance to assert forever freedom and democracy in our country.

Further on Pleven Visit

*AU1005194490 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] On 10 May, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov arrived in Pleven. He visited the new oil field near the village of Bukhod. This project of the Pleven Geological-Research Enterprises is expected to begin regular production soon.

Georgi Dimov, Committee on Geology deputy chairman, briefed Andrey Lukanov on the readiness of the labor collective to begin drilling at other promising locations in the regions.

Afterward, at the Bukhod Poultry Plant, which produces 130 million eggs annually, Andrey Lukanov had a business meeting with leaders of cooperative agrarian plants and specialists from the Pleven area. He briefed the participants on the agrarian reform and the basic forms of managing the land to be applied.

The prime minister reported that the Law on the Land will be published on 14 May. This law will be proposed for nationwide discussion.

Lilov, BSP Leaders Meet TU Officials

*AU1005194290 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] On 10 May, a meeting took place between members of the Presidium of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council and representatives of the leadership of the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria.

Aleksandur Lilov and Krustyu Petkov presented their opinions on certain crucial and topical issues. Issues

related to unemployment, privatization, social security, ecology, and other subjects were reviewed.

Aleksandur Lilov stressed that the BSP finds it necessary to seek ways of cooperation with the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria.

Krustyu Petkov spoke in detail about the responsible and independent role of the trade unions in the political system, and pointed out that only those political forces that belong to the center or the left could be partners of the trade unions.

Regardless of the complicated preelection period, the participants agreed to establish working groups at the level of experts, which will deal with the issues of unemployment, social security, and ecology.

Social Democratic Chairman on Opposition

*AU1005142390 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO
in Czech 5 May 90 p 2*

[Report on interview with Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party Executive Committee, by Ani Vasilevova; place and date not given: "Opposition Provides a Guarantee"]

[Text] Only 14 days after Todor Zhivkov was removed from power (!0 November 1989), the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP], which had been proscribed by law in 1948, officially informed the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council that it was renewing its activity. Its membership in the Socialist International had never been revoked. The BSDP became one of the founders of the Union of Democratic Forces, which today is the most influential opposition bloc in Bulgaria. A reporter from the SOFIAPRESS news agency has interviewed BSDP Executive Committee Chairman Dr. Petur Dertliev.

[Vasilevova] Mr. Dertliev, what ideological stances does the BSDP hold?

[Dertliev] Our slogan is "Free Work for Free Citizens in a Free Country." We are in favor of political pluralism. The existence of an opposition provides a guarantee that power will be moral. Unanimity means something inanimate and unity in action means the absence of activity altogether.

Freedom, that is, freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association, first and foremost, means liberation from fear. Justice means the just division of property in society. Solidarity is our unity on the road chosen by us.

We are in favor of a mixed economy and a market economy; private initiative is an essential condition for the success of society. Unfortunately, in the past there was an exquisite principle of cooperation; in Bulgaria this changed into a principle of violence against and pressure on agricultural workers. The most weighty moment will be provided by the abolition of the existing economic structures. The problem is not whether we will

become an industrialized country, but in what way and at what cost we will become industrialized. Today's industrial structure was forcibly established by the apparatus. It is necessary to liberate labor and to eradicate force in all its forms. However, there are spheres where a state economy is absolutely necessary—raw materials, machinery, transportation—but this should be under democratic management.

One of the gravest sins of the previous system was that it attempted to place two classes against each other: workers and the intelligentsia. During the era of the scientific-technical revolution, a revolution that is the result of spiritual labor, the intellectual in Bulgaria was considered to be a lower category of human being. We are in favor of power and rights for capable people, power and rights for those with knowledge and ability.

[Vasilevova] What is the guarantee that your party will not disavow its statements?

[Dertliev] A guarantee is provided by our past experiences when we had to put up with nuisances such as social-reformers, social-patriots, and who knows what else. Therefore, we are also taking the statement made by the Bulgarian Communist Party that it is changing from a dictatorship into a democracy with a grain of salt.

[Vasilevova] What will your stances be in the upcoming elections?

[Dertliev] We will strive to preserve the Union of Democratic Forces. The backbone of its unity is the cooperation between the BSDP and the "Nikola Petkov" agricultural party. The question of dividing the parties is absolutely illogical at the moment.

[Vasilevova] What is your opinion on the mandate principle?

[Dertliev] This question is associated with the uncertainty of democracy. It is clear that one person cannot engage in more than two mandates in state structures. As far as the parties are concerned, the issue is different. At the moment, the mandate principle is necessary—at least, for a certain period—because the dictatorship is still very much alive. Where there are real democratic traditions, this necessity is cast aside. No one ever brings this question up in the case of Francois Mitterrand or Willi Brandt, who have been leading their parties for decades.

[Vasilevova] What are your relations with the European social democrats and the Socialist International like, especially after your recent participation in the congress in Berlin involving the social democratic parties from the EC member states?

[Dertliev] Social democracy occupies a leading position in Europe today. In some countries, it is in power and in others it is not, but it is influential everywhere. Social democracy is the path leading up to the European home. Central European countries were at the center of attention at the congress that you mentioned. An absolute

understanding for the problems in these regions and a desire to support the processes that are under way there and that are striving to introduce freedom and democracy prevailed at the congress. G. H. Brundtland, the

Norwegian representative and the country's former premier, expressed it most succinctly when she said: "The East's freedom is our freedom; if the East is not free, then we too cannot be free!"

Havel Briefs Council of Europe Deputies

LD1005152590 Prague CTK in English 1407 GMT
10 May 90

[Text] Strasbourg May 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, answering questions put by deputies of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, said that according to him the Council of Europe is the core of the future unification of Europe. However, the Council of Europe does not deal with military issues, and that is why Czechoslovakia has suggested the establishment of the European Security Commission.

Vaclav Havel was replying to questions put by European parliamentary deputies immediately after delivering his speech before the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly here earlier today.

A West German deputy, born in Prague, recalled the horrors of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia and asked about the future coexistence of Czechs, Slovaks and the Sudeten Germans. President Havel said that in Czechoslovakia ethnic minorities will have corresponding rights to those of both the main nations and that the future European borders will be freer just as it used to be in the past.

In answer to another question President Havel said that in present-day Czechoslovakia, the terms "capitalism" and "socialism" have lost their meaning. Czechoslovakia wants to build a functioning economy and democratic system. "If someone wants to call it capitalism or socialism that's his affair," said the president.

On the present strengthened nationalist feelings and the disruption of public order in connection with this, Vaclav Havel said that it is a natural feature after the period of totalitarianism, which made any expression of identity, whether national or other, totally impossible. In connection with the need to reconstruct the system of internal security, there are certain shortcomings in police work. Czechoslovakia is firmly determined to sort everything out.

When asked about the future of communism and the word "communism" itself, President Havel replied that he does not know exactly what the word means and that is why he avoids it.

Rather than being preoccupied with this term, it is more necessary to consider what people mean when they utter words like democracy, humanity, and freedom, which are now being used very often in Czechoslovakia, concluded Vaclav Havel.

Ends Strasbourg Visit, Departs

LD1005201890 Prague CTK in English 1906 GMT
10 May 90

[Text] Strasbourg May 10 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel ended his day-long visit to the Council of Europe's seat here today and left for home.

In addition to addressing the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, the president had talks at Strasbourg's town hall, discussed bilateral relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia with Yugoslav President Janez Drnovsek, and gave a brief press conference (see our separate item).

In his speech at the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, the climax of his Strasbourg program, the Czechoslovak president proposed that the two European groupings be gradually transformed into a new security system. It is to be expected that the Warsaw Treaty will in the course of time end its role as the political instrument of European disarmament, while NATO, being a more democratic and effective structure, could become the seed of a new European system. But it, too, must definitely change, above all it should transform its military doctrine in the face of today's reality.

As the Warsaw Treaty will be fading away and as NATO will undergo transformation, the importance of a new European security arrangement, the core of which the Czechoslovak-proposed European security commission could be, will be growing.

Slovak Delegation Departs on N. American Tour

AU1105104490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
10 May 90 p 2

[Text] Bratislava—Slovak National Council and Slovak Republic Government delegations departed for a five-day visit to Canada and the United States yesterday (9 May). CSFR Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek also departed with the delegation. Among the members of the delegation, which is chaired by Milan Cic, federal government deputy premier and Slovak Republic premier, are Slovak National Council Chairman Rudolf Schuster, Slovak National Council deputies, and other Slovak Republic Government representatives. Alexander Dubcek, along with the delegation, will take part in the World Congress of Slovaks in Toronto and will meet with Canadian Government representatives and Czech and Slovak communities in Canada. On Friday (11 May), Alexander Dubcek will leave for the United States, where he will hold talks with representatives from the U.S. diplomatic corps and receive an honorary doctorate from the American University in Washington.

Dubcek Meetings in Canada, U.S. Visit Viewed

LD1105095390 Prague CTK in English 0825 GMT
11 May 90

[Text] Ottawa May 11 (CTK correspondent)—Visiting Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Ducek and members of the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Government delegation met with Tomas Bata in Toronto yesterday.

Tomas Bata said *inter alia* that a group of experts is planning to visit Czechoslovakia for a period of five weeks to supervise courses for experts from the Czechoslovak footwear industry.

Then the delegation left for Ottawa where Alexander Dubcek, Slovak Premier Milan Cizik and Slovak Parliament Chairman Rudolf Schuster met with speakers of the House of Commons and the Senate of the Canadian Parliament John Fraser and Guy Charbonneau. They informed each other of the work of their countries' legislative bodies.

Other members of the delegation held talks at the Department of External Affairs. They had also talks on the possibilities of cooperation in telecommunications, the food industry and in other spheres.

A press conference took place at the University of Ottawa premises where a Department of Slovak Studies was opened on April 4.

Alexander Dubcek spoke in favour of building a united federal state of Czechs and Slovaks amid strengthening the authority and statehood of the two republics. Asked about his opinion on further development in the Baltic Republics, he said that it is inevitable to weigh every step and take into consideration whether it is for the benefit of progressive changes in Soviet society or Neostalinist forces.

The Federal Assembly chairman also called for promotion of the two countries' economic ties. He said that Czechoslovakia will construct its federation on a democratic basis taking into consideration the welfare of its people.

In this connection, the AFP agency pointed out that Alexander Dubcek was against the separation of Slovakia. Addressing the session of the World Congress of Slovaks, which ended in Ottawa yesterday, he said that radical supporters of Slovakia's independence do not express feelings which prevail among the population.

Last night Alexander Dubcek left for Washington. His five-day visit to the American continent will culminate by delivering a speech at University of Washington where he will also be awarded an honorary doctor's degree. Besides, he will meet with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, prominent Congressmen, representatives of the Slovak expatriates in the United States and with representatives of the movement in protection of human rights. On Monday, he will have talks with U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle.

There is a great interest in the visit of Alexander Dubcek to the United States. Tens of television and radio stations staffs and correspondents of prominent U.S. papers have asked him for an interview and applied for participation in the planned press conference.

Further on European Cultural Convention Signing

LD1005152290 Prague CTK in English 1451 GMT
10 May 90

[Text] Strasbourg, May 10 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia joined the European Cultural Convention of 1954 when a document to this effect was signed by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and Secretary General of the Council of Europe Catherine Lalumiere here today.

The document was signed within Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's visit to the European Palace in Strasbourg.

Jiri Dienstbier stressed that it is a step of a great importance for Czechoslovakia forming a part of the present democratic process. He expressed the conviction that the country will fulfill soon all prerequisites needed for its signing also the European Convention on Human Rights of 1950.

Catherine Lalumiere pointed out the rich cultural traditions of Czechoslovakia's nations and admired the rapid development of events after the November 1989 revolution in this country.

Report on Soviet Troop Withdrawal From Bohemia

LD1005153990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1330 GMT 10 May 90

[Summary] The last train carrying Soviet military equipment is leaving Zamberk in eastern Bohemia. Eight Soviet units have so far left without major delays. The last soldier left the Ceska Trebova garrison Tuesday [8 May]; the equipment from Klasterec nad Orlici has been transferred to the Zamberk train station where the loading was completed today and a car to take away the soldiers is expected this afternoon. The situation with regard to damage is, of course, worse. After more than 20 years of Soviet troops' stay, damage in Ceska Trebova is estimated at Kcs24 million, while the Soviet side estimates it as less than fifty percent [of this figure], but this does not include damage to the soil, which will be specified later.

According to the Usti nad Orlici District National Committee, those who are interested in the vacated premises should view them and propose how they should be used so that the best possible effect can be obtained. Problems are also foreseen with training ammunition, inspections of training grounds, and with the guarding of vacated premises. The requirements in this respect were cabled to the parliamentary commission. However, the Army itself should come forward and not wait for a decision by the government.

USSR No Longer Responsible for Nuclear Safety

LD1005162690 Prague CTK in English 1539 GMT
10 May 90

[Text] Prague May 10 (CTK)—There were eight breakdowns causing unplanned stoppages at the eight nuclear units operated in Czechoslovakia in the past year (one for each unit on the average), a rate among the best in the world.

Of the total of the breakdowns in Czechoslovakia, one per cent was of safety hazard.

The state supervision body has been paying special attention to the two oldest units of the "VI" type at Jaslovské Bohunice, West Slovakia. Their projected nuclear safety is lagging behind the standards required now, so they are considered the weakest spot of Czechoslovakia's nuclear industry. Most probably, these units will be removed from operation before their planned time.

Czechoslovakia has decided to take over responsibility for its nuclear industry's safety from the Soviet suppliers. This change will also influence the selection of future suppliers, where the Soviets will be just one of the bidding firms.

Uhl Wants Clarification From Ministry on Bugging

AU1005141890

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 8 May on pages 1 and 2 publishes a 750-word "open letter" by CTK Director Petr Uhl to Interior Minister Richard Sacher. In this letter the author expresses concern that, according to a list he was able to consult, bugging devices are still installed in the apartments of Charter 77 signatories, including his own. Furthermore, he requests that the device in his apartment be removed in the presence of journalists, for he wishes the act to be public. He intends to use their testimony in the judicial proceedings he wishes to initiate against the unknown person or persons who are responsible for the installation of these devices. Moreover, he expresses general mistrust of the State Security. He claims that—with the rare exception of individuals directly prosecuted—not one of the more than 600 employees of the Ministry of Interior's "internal and organizational administration" left their post after the velvet revolution. In other words, they are the same people who are responsible for his own persecution during the past 20 years. In addition, he feels that as one of the persons who dedicated his life to the struggle against totalitarianism, he deserves some explanations of all the actions taken against his person (searches, investigations, etc.). Uhl also asks for the return of his property confiscated during house searches.

Removal of Listening Devices 'Statewide Operation'

AU1105101090

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 10 May on page 3 carries a 200-word CTK report, entitled

"'Bugs' Under the Ledge," on the removal of bugging devices from CTK director Petr Uhl's apartment. According to the report, the removal of the bugs from Uhl's apartment is the beginning of a statewide operation to remove bugging devices from apartments of representatives of independent initiatives. The experts claim that the devices found here were installed 15-20 years ago. Although documentation identifying where bugs have been placed is not available, the operation will continue.

Sacher Federal Assembly Speech 8 May

LD0905193390 Prague Television Service in Czech
2150 GMT 8 May 90

[Speech by Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher at the Federal Assembly session in Prague on 8 May—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed ladies and gentlemen! As I have submitted my reply to the interpellation of Mr. Deputy Lis as had been agreed—that is by 2 May—and because I have now learned that deputies do not have my reply at their disposal [deputies' voices in the background: "Yes, we have!"]—they have? Well, then that is all right. I would like to point to some facts—I do not intend to engage in polemics over whether a factual reply has been given or not to factual objections. I believe that the reply is factual enough. I, too, respect society's interests, and I am interested in the pre-election campaign being decently conducted. Concerning the halting of bugging, how many citizens have been informed, and so on: This is a question which we can only deal with when we learn who is willing and able to tell us where these bugging devices are in fact installed. We were not able earlier to draw up this list. When we started drawing up this list, this list comprised, first of all, representative missions; and, in the case of citizens, this list is being completed. In other words: We can tell those citizens who were bugged that they have, here and there, installed bugging devices, which are obviously not functioning, and we shall, of course, remove these devices for them.

Concerning, in connection with this issue, I would like to say that as a consequence of the destruction of certain materials establishing where the bugging devices were installed, an investigation will be carried out—as I have mentioned to Mr. Ruml—today or tomorrow concerning persons who are responsible for the destruction of documents about the installation of the bugging devices.

Concerning the KGB, if the Defense and Security Committee should show interest in this agreement, then the Defense and Security [committee] can have this agreement at its disposal. This agreement is not a secret agreement and can be published at any time. We want to conclude similar agreements with other Western states.

Concerning the security situation—I would like to say that in a number of cases of strengthening Public Security units—they often exceed their powers and often the

initiative comes from me—as, for example in the North Bohemian Region. [sentence as heard] By 8 May 1990, all together 126 members have been interviewed by the Central Screening Commission. Out of this, 120 members were processed by the Central Citizens' Commission. Interviews began on 5 March and were completed in general by 30 April; after this date only those were interviewed whose state of health or duties prevented them from attending earlier. From the aforementioned number, the Central Commission screened 46 heads of administration or units of the Federal Interior Ministry and 10 heads of the National Security Corps regional administration. From this number, nine members were not recommended for further service in national security and eight members were not recommended to continue in the post of head. For interviews with the Central Screening Commission 66 members—such as members of unit or regional screening commissions—were recommended, and out of this number 42 were approved to fill these posts. I would like to say that I have not in any way influenced, and had no interest in influencing, the work of screening commissions. The results really are the results of screening and citizens' commissions.

I totally reject the view that in the section of internal and organizational administration there are members of State Security. Of course, Mr. Lis has his own view on the matter, as he says. Of course, citizens also have their views, and I can hear that view quite often at pre-election meetings. To a certain extent, this view is different.

Calfa on Controversies Within Government

*AU1005150490 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
4 May 90 p 3*

[Report on interview with Premier Marian Calfa by MLADA FRONTA correspondents Josef Tucek and Tomas Marek on board the plane returning from eastern Slovakia on 28 April: "I Am Not a Supporter of One or the Other Side; I Am Trying To Bring their Opinions into Harmony"]

[Text] The premier really had the right to be tired. He was just returning from a three-day sojourn in eastern Slovakia, where he was incessantly meeting people—company directors, political representatives from various levels, as well as passersby. He had to react promptly to direct questions and opinions, and even to slight insinuations. He had to prove over and over again that he is the right man in the right place—after all, today it is no longer true that once you hold an important office you have it for life. It was Saturday evening, the small Jak-40 plane climbed above the dark clouds, and the last rays of sun penetrated its windows. We had another hour of flying ahead of us and, without any preparation, Marian Calfa answered MLADA FRONTA's questions.

[MLADA FRONTA] Your government prepared a program of economic reforms and began with its realization.

Are you not afraid that after the elections a new government will come with an entirely different conception and that it perhaps will start with something else?

[Calfa] We have to ask ourselves about our situation and about the situation we would like to be in. We are talking about the economy. The government begins with the assumption that the transition to a market economy is necessary and, objectively, it consists of several steps—for instance, the abandonment of command management, the formation of institutions characteristic of a market economy. In political life, we see the necessity of forming a multiparty system, of legally codifying the existence of parties, and of a legislative guarantee of their operations. These constitute the foundation of our further progress. They simply cannot be changed. Naturally, the tactics can change; the sequence of individual steps can change. The general strategy, however, cannot change. We are now in the process of drawing up this strategy. Regardless of what happens in the elections, I firmly believe that we initiated the proper course of action in the transition from one system to another. I think that we have done a lot of good work for the new government that will emerge from the June elections, and I believe that we made its next steps easier.

[MLADA FRONTA] Today speculations on hidden struggles among the representatives of economic reform appear ever more frequently in public. They concern the struggle between the representatives of an iron hand encased in steel as is, for example, Mr. Komarek, and representatives of an iron hand in a velvet glove as is, for example, Mr. Klaus. Where do you see yourself in case of a conflict?

[Calfa] First, there is nothing hidden. Even your newspaper carried long interviews with Mr. Komarek and with Mr. Klaus in which they expressed their opinions on a number of problems. You also publish articles by other economists who analyze our situation. Moreover, government members briefed the parliament in detail, they appear on TV, and they express their opinions.

Second, I would not refer to these as struggles. Even recently the economists were lined up in a single file. It is our good fortune that several camps exist today, which are willing to debate the economic reform. What is more, I would be even happier if there were a third or fourth group. May they all quarrel, present their arguments and so, at least I believe so, this will always bring something positive. The truth is that a very sharp exchange of views on reform is taking place. In addition, we hear from a group of foreign economists, most of whom at various times emigrated from our country. These economists accuse us of not knowing what to do. They claim that any average head of economic organization, or at least any deputy head, knows far more about economics than any government member. Therefore, there are actually several groups of opinions. I do not believe, however, that they are contradictory; one cannot even say that someone stands only on one side. None of the versions put forth will win in its pure form. Furthermore, Mr.

Klaus today is not the Mr. Klaus of three months ago, and Mr. Komarek is not the same Mr. Komarek either. Clashes of all opinions gradually crystallize into a perception of reform tactics—the government is going to deal with it this Friday.

Regarding my own attitude: Please understand one thing: I lead this government, and I am trying to bring into a single harmonious entity the opinions of some 20 ministers. I cannot champion one or the other side. I must add that controversial standpoints regarding the gauntlet or velvet glove no longer exist in the government. We have already overcome this stage. Vaclav Vales joined the government as a deputy premier, and a period of a quite realistic economic concept began. Please do not consider this to be an evasive answer; I would rather say that your question on whose side I am is not precise enough. I am not taking sides. Frankly, thank the Lord for Klaus and his characteristics as a minister of finance who says that he has nothing and will give nothing. On the other hand, praise the Lord also for Minister Miller, who has social feelings. It is true that we need a sharp economy, but it must be socially rooted.

[MLADA FRONTA] Mutual relations between the government, the parliament, and the main political powers are very important in every democratic country. From this point of view, how would you assess the controversy between Mr. Sacher, your minister of interior, and Mr. Lis, chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee and concurrently representative of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center?

[Calfa] To begin with, I do not think that we are a democratic country. We will not be one for a long time. We have just disposed of a certain group of people. We did not, however, dispose of structures and mechanisms of state power. Take notice of the fact that the old institutions remain; the only change is that new people are appointed into them. We must change the institutions, their associations and interrelations. Of course, that is a very difficult task on which we will embark in connection with preparing the new constitution. Moreover, I do not think that the controversy between Mr. Lis and Minister Sacher is a political one. It is just that an attempt has been made to turn it into a political conflict. It is just a strife initiated by certain mistrust on the part of Mr. Lis and perhaps also on the part of the Civic Forum with respect to the goings-on at the Ministry of Interior. Now comes the question as to what degree Mr. Sacher is responsible for what is happening at the ministry. My opinion is that he is ascribed much more responsibility for these activities than really is his due. I know what is taking place at the Ministry of Interior from the constant flow of information from my own sources, as well as from what Mr. Lis told me, and from the communication with Minister Sacher. The deputy ministers briefed me as well. I have a feeling that the federal minister of interior is also accused of insufficient activity. I, on the other hand, believe that he generates precisely the right amount of activity to the extent that he does not reach the point at which counteractivity is

produced. I also said this to the Federal Assembly deputies. There are, however, phenomena in that sector of the ministry that give rise to questions. Nevertheless, they are not connected with the person of the minister but rather with the general situation in the state.

[MLADA FRONTA] You are the first candidate on the list of the Public Against Violence movement in the East Slovak region. Why did you decide to enter the elections specifically for this movement?

[Calfa] I will ask you something, too. What other formation would you recommend for my candidacy? If you place the question this way, only one answer is possible.

[MLADA FRONTA] Do you think it possible that the nationalist disputes could grow out of the political framework and become an open and more dangerous conflict?

[Calfa] I would be naive to dismiss the possibility. I firmly believe that the mutual relationship between Czechs and Slovaks is not a political issue. It is a part of life, a component of history, and it should not become a part of political bidding. Unfortunately, forces exist in Slovakia, or, to be more precise, above all in Slovakia, which include even this problem in their political strategies. Of course, in the integrating Europe, this is an unequivocally anachronistic trend which does not have a realistic future. There is also another aspect. Just a few hours ago you were with me in the chemical plant in Strazske. They receive their supplies from the chemical plant in Kralupy. The materials from Kralupy are processed in Strazske and then, semi-processed, they are shipped to Zaluzi. From Zaluzi they return to East Slovakia, to Chemlon in Humenne, where the product reaches its final form—fabric—which is used by both Czech and Slovak companies. I want to demonstrate by this little example how our two republics are technologically linked. Imagine that someone would separate them by a border.

I am personally against even beginning to consider the question of two independent states. Should the question be brought up, then, I think, the only solution is integration, in the same way that modern Europe is integrated.

[MLADA FRONTA] News from northern Bohemia, but not only from there, appear lately on clashes of Romanies, and in some cases of foreign laborers, with skinheads and punks. Are you concerned that similar phenomena might spread throughout the entire territory of our Republic and extend to more ethnic or social groups?

[Calfa] It is a very painful phenomenon because it is tinged with racism. I definitely condemn this and it troubles me. I do not understand from whence it comes in our nations. Note that we have never in our history been racist. Of course, the state power has the means to prevent a possible scourge. With regard to northern Bohemia, we have decided to reinforce security units,

and we intend to do the same anywhere else. We must not allow this phenomenon to grow to the extent that it becomes indomitable.

[MLADA FRONTA] We agree. Skirmishes or even street battles have really never taken place here. They are incompatible with the mentality of our nations. This seems to indicate an artificial incitement. What do you think of this possibility?

[Calfa] I heard of it, too. Perhaps this hypothesis will be in time in some way supported by an investigation. In the meantime, I have no information at my disposal which would justify such a conclusion.

[MLADA FRONTA] Czech Premier Petr Pithart repeatedly expressed to journalists an opinion which, after all, was agreed upon by the Czech and the Slovak Governments at their meeting in Lnare. According to this opinion, the constitution of the republics takes priority. The republics themselves will then agree which powers will be delegated to the federation. A meeting of experts on constitutional law from all over the world recently took place in Kolodeje. As often is the case, their views on many issues differed substantially. If they agreed on anything, it was a firm belief that presently in Europe exactly the opposite—namely, a strong federation and weaker republics—makes sense. How do you view this problem?

[Calfa] It is an extremely complex and very sensitive issue. Theoretically, the Czechoslovak federation was conceived from the idea that the republics have sovereignty, and they entered into some kind of an agreement in the form of a constitutional law in which they proclaimed their decision to surrender some of their powers to the federation. Article Nine in the Law on the Czechoslovak Federation actually states that only what is specified in the law belongs to the domain of the federation. Everything else are affairs of the republics; hence, the theoretical principle of the sovereignty of the republics, which serves as the point of departure for Mr. Pithart, is still valid today. Nevertheless, it is a fact that over the years, this quite tidy principle was transformed by the simple reality of ruling. The central government adopted practically all the powers—particularly in global economic issues, in strategies, in key industries, in all spheres common to the entire state such as, for instance, defense, energy production, transport, communications, and also in the issues of foreign trade and in foreign policies. Mr. Pithart returns to the original idea of sovereignty of the republics. In addition, he is very jealous of issues which now belong to the republics' realm of authority but are dealt with on the federal level. I do not say this by chance. For example, two weeks ago, we set up the Committee for Youth and Physical Education because we were implored to assist in dealing with the problem of dividing the property of the former Socialist Youth Union. You know what it is all about. What a pile of money. We did not have any ulterior motives. We just wanted to satisfy this entreaty. So we said to ourselves: Let us form a committee with a

representation from all parties concerned, it will be under the command of the deputy premier Hromadka, they will meet, and, under his influence, they will somehow come to an agreement. We did not want to decide in their stead, just to form a platform. This was followed by the issuance of the statement by the Czech Government that it is an infringement on the jurisdiction of the republics without their approval. At the same time, the [Czech] republic does not deal with this problem. Of course, one can look at it in this way: It is the republics' domain, and therefore the federation has no place here. I could, of course, phrase the question differently—whether the republic can, under the present constitutional state, transgress into the domain of the federation. Apparently it cannot do that either. Foreign policy currently does not belong to the sphere of the republics' authority. Yeah, but Mr. Pithart just came back from Poland and took off for the United States. Do you understand? For myself, I feel that a republic, if it is to function normally, must be part of an international environment. This, however, does not correspond to the present internal constitutional state. All this gives signals that there is a need to seriously deal with this issue.

[MLADA FRONTA] During your trip through eastern Slovakia, you visited companies which indicated that they would not refuse the offer if the state were to open its pockets and helped them with some amount of money. In these negotiations you followed your government policy—the company must first try to help itself under the new conditions, and only when the situation becomes desperate and the company exhausts all means at its disposal would the state consider the measure of its assistance. We had a feeling, however, that in problems concerning ecology, the state is willing to get more involved. Is this a correct impression?

[Calfa] Absolutely. One's living environment does not end at the gate of a plant, but is a matter of concern for all people and for the entire state. In this case, the state just cannot evade involvement. It has to develop an entirely independent philosophy and policies for the sphere of ecology; it must also make up appropriate financial tools and devise some principles for behavior in this sphere. We will not apply the same principles in the sphere of ecology that we intend to in assessing the economic results of individual companies. In the case of ecology, it is literally a matter of life for our people, and this, after all, must be the guiding principle of our government.

Vales News Conference on Economic Reform Strategy

AU1005195090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
5 May 90 p 2

[Alena Ruzkova report: "Prices—Wait for a Complete Package"]

[Text] Prague—The strategy of accelerating economic reform was the main issue at yesterday's news conference

with CSFR Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales. The conference took place immediately after the government session was over.

The CSFR deputy premier labeled the discussed document as a key document, but—at the same time—he commented that this document represents only one of the reformist steps adopted by the government in its overall program. Yesterday the government dealt with the changes in ownership relations, prices, and the internal convertibility of the currency.

Later, journalists' questions were answered. Even if the following did not directly pertain to yesterday's government session, our correspondent asked the CSFR deputy premier three extremely topical questions.

1. There are leaflets circulating among the population discussing the new prices. Are they spurious, or do they represent part of the material discussed by the government?

2. Are some compensations in the social sphere—pensions, family allowances, etc.—being prepared simultaneously with the new prices?

3. Is it true—as some of our readers say—that the compensations will be made public as of 1 June—that is, before the elections—and that the price increases will be made public after the elections? Is it true that compensation will be paid retroactively?

Vaclav Vales answered as follows: "The government adopted some price changes last week. The changes were minimal. There are various materials with various prices. Today's material also contained some suggestions. This government will discuss a package connected, for example, with procurement prices and food retail prices. But this government certainly cannot implement them. To change food prices without changing procurement prices in the agricultural complex would have a practical impact. It is true that the government cannot ignore the problem. If there is some material available, it has to be discussed and the maximum possible must be done—at least, to clarify the problem. A decision may be adopted by the new government. No one would be able to implement such an operation in a month's time—that is, to raise the prices irrespective of what the outcome would be.... After a half year we would come back and would say: We beg your pardon, we have made a mistake, we must do something with it again. That is why I think that a whole package of changes will have to be prepared—food, procurement prices, agriculture—and also a whole package in accommodation—rents, including heating. We cannot solve the problem by ignoring rents—in order to eliminate budget problems—and to leave the problems—which will anger the tenants—for the new government. In no case can any of those packages be made public either before or after elections. It can be made public only when it is processed and ready. The sooner the better. But, in a month's time none of them will be ready."

The CSFR deputy premier was asked one more question, to which he replied: "When I took over my position in the government I required all the government members to work together and to present their opinions to the government. They can fight for their opinions, but only an adopted statement can be made public. I am not the premier; it is not my business to draw conclusions unfavorable to those who do not do so."

No Special Status for Socialist Property

AU1005143390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 May 90 p 2

[CTK report: "In the Interim—According to Chapter Nine"]

[Text] Prague—The statement by the CSFR prosecutor general sent to CTK says:

The constitutional law of 18 April 1990 comes into effect as of 23 April. The Constitution and Constitutional Law No. 143 of 1968 on the Czechoslovak Federation are being amended by this law. Article 7 Section 2 of the Constitution now reads that the state has the obligation to provide equal protection for all property owners. That is why, as of 24 April, I have adopted a provision according to which criminal acts committed against property in socialist ownership—according to Chapter Two of the Criminal Code—and other criminal acts—where damage had been caused to former property in socialist ownership—will be dealt with, until new amendments to the Penal Code come into force, as criminal acts according to Chapter Nine of the Penal Law. No longer will it be possible to prosecute property damage caused by negligence according to penal law, but it may be dealt with as an offense or as a violation of work discipline.

This provision is necessary in order to retain the constitutional nature of the CSFR legal system.

Coalition Minorities Party Election Program

LD1005154990

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak at 0830 GMT on 10 May carries a five-minute election broadcast in Hungarian on behalf of the Coalition of Coexistence and the Hungarian Christian Democrats Movement. An unidentified spokesman says that after many decades this is the first opportunity for free elections. In the past we voted for those whom the totalitarian party put forward. The national minorities were in a particularly difficult situation: Their representatives played in parliament the role of an extra. Democracy and pluralism provide the opportunity for the minorities to decide for themselves who should represent them. The Coexistence Political Movement has been formed to represent the interests of the national minorities living in Czechoslovakia. Its motto is peaceful coexistence, tolerance, mutual understanding, and

respect for each other. These are also the aims of its coalition partner—the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement.

Dr. Gyorgy (Gyimesi), one of the founders of the Hungarian Movement, says that he realized after working for many years in Csemadok that the question of national minorities has not been solved in Czechoslovakia. His movement thinks that now there is an opportunity to get somewhere with the nationality question. It wants pluralism and democracy. One of the criteria of democracy is to solve the nationality problems. The movement wants to see a solution which suits the minorities. This is why the Coexistence Political Movement represents in miniature the fulfilment of their major aim: The cooperation of individual nationalities. The coexistence movement is a good example of peaceful coexistence of different nationalities.

Apart from the issue of nationalities, the movement wants to deal with all issues that are of concern for minorities in Czechoslovakia, he says, such as development of the education system, support for private enterprise, and solving problems of restructuring agriculture. It will also try to put these forward in parliament. It hopes that the electorate, when they get to know their program, will vote for the coalition alliance of the Coexistence Political Movement and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement. Their election number is 12.

Czech Government Discusses Energy Policy

AU1005154390 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 3 May 90 p 1

["(CT,ZNY)"]- signed report: "An Atom, but a Safe One"]

[Text] The Czech Republic Government yesterday discussed the concept of energy policy in the Czech Republic. The government will support the building of nuclear power plants, utilizing foreign expertise in this regard and ensuring maximum safety. The first step to be taken should be putting two blocks into operation in Temelin in the very near future.

This is the only way to gradually phase out thermal power plants in North and West Bohemia. This concept is further supported by a gas utilization program, the exploitation of nontraditional sources, and all methods leading to a significant cut in power consumption.

The government noted the report on the denationalization and the privatization of national property delivered by the chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific and Technological Development. The government agrees with further discussions about this document in the Federal Government. In connection with the anticipated date of the elections to national committees, the deadline for a census of the population, houses, and apartments has been moved to 3 March

1991. The Czech Republic Government, therefore, approved the postponement of work connected with this. The government further agreed with reaching an agreement between the CSFR Government and the Hungarian Republic Government on cooperation in nuclear industry safety and protection against radiation. It did not recommend the draft law on company lawyers and legal services provided by them.

J. Bocek, CSFR minister of forestry, water management, and the wood processing industry, presented a report on damage caused by strong winds. Some 11 million cubic meters of wood have been damaged by wind. Subsidies from the state budget (179 million korunas) are, according to the minister, the minimum needed to process the 7.3 million cubic meters of wood destroyed this year. Workers from other parts of the republic are being transported to West and North Bohemia. Of course, regular wood production is restricted. Since these disasters have been quite frequent in past years, there is a shortage of regularly cleared space for planting new trees. On the subject of work forces leaving for abroad, the minister said that our people are not getting work permits in Bavaria, since only workers who have their own tools, clothing, transport, etc., are being employed there. The need for public help is nevertheless welcome, particularly for removing marshy areas, which is a prerequisite for mechanized planting.

Prosecutor's Office on Growth in Crime, Racism

LD1005162890 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Prague May 10 (CTK)—The Czech General Prosecutor's Office and the Czech Ministry of the Interior will take resolute steps against all offenders breaking the law by committing violence, but also against all expressions of racial intolerance, propagation of fascism and its symbols and mass gatherings leading to acts of violence on groups of persons, a statement of the Czech General Prosecutor's Office published here Thursday said.

The statement referred to the rise of criminal activities and escalated expressions of racial intolerance in Czechoslovakia since the beginning of 1990. The document pointed to the alarming fact that the number of murders committed in the above-mentioned period has almost doubled in comparison with the same period last year. The number of rapes increased by 70 per cent and robberies by 241 per cent.

The Czech Interior Ministry's figures indicated that though the Romany citizens form a mere 1.26 per cent of the population living in the Czech Republic their share in the detached crimes within the first quarter of this year amounts to 15.6 per cent. This fact may be one of possible reasons of the outbreak of racial intolerance of the so-called skinheads in the country. Of course other reasons aimed at stirring up unrest and destabilization of society cannot also be excluded, the statement underlined.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.

Meckel Rejects Shevardnadze Unification Proposal

LD1105090390 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0820 GMT 11 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel has rejected the proposal by his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze for a distinction between the internal and external aspects of the German unification process. In a talk with ADN and Deutschlandsender, he stated that he was "very skeptical in this matter; actually, I am against it." Meckel affirmed his opinion that this proposal was "not a naughty game." The intention behind it, however, is not to hinder the German process of unification, or to renounce interests so rapidly. Neither is the intention to "retain solutions, the Four Power rights at the very least, to keep, so to speak, a foot in the door as long as one does not have them in one's hand."

He added: "A peace treaty is not on the agenda, and we will not have any use for it. I think it is important that we try to lift by treaty the Four Power rights and responsibilities when the two-plus-four negotiations end." Everything beyond that, such as the further stationing of troops, should be regulated anew by treaty and with a time limit.

Meckel spoke in favor of respecting the justified security interests of the Soviet Union and said that Europe needs new security structures and institutions corresponding to the newly arisen situation. In that regard, he was thinking of NATO, which functions within itself but which, like the disintegrating Warsaw Pact, "is not doing justice, in its present form, to this new situation." It is a unique and genuine challenge to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The security system practiced in NATO should be shaped so it is not directed against others and so that the Soviet Union does not feel threatened. This "will have a considerable effect on how the future Germany can be integrated and whether this will then be acceptable to the Soviet Union."

Meckel, Delors Discuss Closer EC Contacts

LD1005192490 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1043 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Brussels (ADN reporter)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel this evening expressed the GDR's interest in creating closer contacts with the EC in the future during extensive talks in Brussels with EEC Commission President Jacques Delors. As he explained to

ADN afterward, no negotiations on membership were held because this was done via the FRG, and all official representation is, of course, to continue to be done through it. However, it is important to be personally involved in a consultative capacity on all issues affecting the specific situation in the GDR. The GDR also needs advice on far-reaching economic restructuring. There must be consideration of how things will continue in agriculture and in fisheries. An intensive process of consultation was therefore necessary. All these issues were discussed, including an expansion of the EEC mission and an exchange of personnel. "They were very intensive talks, and I think an important start, which was at the same time a preparation for the visit by the prime minister to the commission," Meckel said.

Defense Ministry Rejects NATO Acceptance Rumor

LD1005182190 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1738 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Assertions by FRG media that there is acceptance of NATO membership on the part of many NVA [National People's Army] officers have been rejected by the Disarmament and Defense Ministry. In a news release published today [10 May], it says that this assessment is based on the opinion of a single Lieutenant Colonel in the administrative area of the Disarmament and Defense Ministry, who is not qualified to make statements on behalf of the NVA.

The Lieutenant Colonel's description, assessed by professional soldiers, is not to be taken seriously and is a political smokescreen, the news release goes on to say. The professional soldiers again reaffirmed their support for the statement of 2 May by Minister Rainer Eppelmann that, after the unification of the two German states, there would be a second German Army on the territory of the GDR, which—not integrated into any military alliance—will exercise its own functions of securing its territory. There will be no extension of NATO's military presence to the area between the Oder and the Elbe.

Defense Minister Eppelmann on Soviet Talks

LD1005235190 East Berlin Domestic Service
in German 2030 GMT 10 May 90

[Report on interview with Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann by reporter Christian Neef; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann today [10 May] ended his visit to the Soviet Union. [passage omitted] The future of the Warsaw Pact, the future status of Germany, the role of the Soviet forces in the GDR, and other questions were important points that our reporter, Christian Neef, discussed in an interview with Minister Eppelmann.

[Begin recording] [Neef] [passage omitted] In Gorbachev's speech on Victory Day—you were a guest at the Bolshoi Theater—he spoke very extensively about the German problem. Talk of unacceptable membership in NATO was not at the fore; instead it was firm security guarantees in a future peace treaty. Have your interlocutors here in Moscow made it clearer over the past few days what they understand in detail about these guarantees?

[Eppelmann] The Soviet Union has great interest—I can say this looking back on the past two days—in never again getting into a situation like the one it experienced from 1941 to 1945. We all know that the Soviet Union is still suffering the consequences of that war today. For this reason, I have great understanding for the security interests and fears of the Soviet Union. I believe we would do well to take them seriously; at least on this point, two-plus-four means for me the GDR on the Soviet Union's side.

[Neef] Or do you probably have the feeling that things have been overlooked concerning German-German unification and their own concepts on this? Did you also feel this?

[Eppelmann] I think that something like this is an assumption. Those responsible in the Soviet Union are torn, like many people in Europe at the moment, as well as in the GDR. They are torn between what they are experiencing, at the moment, by the political changes in our country. The statement announces that the Soviet Union will not interfere in intra-German affairs. That is one position. The other is that they ascertain that much of what is happening in the GDR and the FRG and central Europe, cautiously expressed, does not exactly accommodate the Soviet Union's security interests. They want to stick to the first position and not interfere in intra-German affairs, but they are not masochists who say that they are totally indifferent as to what comes out of it for them in the end. I believe the situation is enormously more complicated, because I am completely excluding the issues affecting the future of the Warsaw Pact. I think this alliance is in the process of disbanding, and I am also excluding how the internal developments in the Soviet Union itself continue.

[Neef] As we are talking about the Warsaw Pact, you are proposing, for example, letting the NVA [National People's Army] continue to exist as a second German Army without integrating it into any alliance system. How was this proposal received here?

[Eppelmann] Yes, I had the opportunity to explain this rather extensively to Mr. Moiseyev and Mr. Falin. In the case of Mr. Moiseyev, I had the impression [words indistinct], mainly that he listened openly and in an interested manner, in no way rejecting, giving me the hope that in the meantime no one in the Soviet Army is not prepared at least to think about such a construction and to ask himself what it means. In the talks with Falin [words indistinct] which were somewhat longer than 20

minutes, Falin again tried to make it clear that in his opinion the key might lie in a military reduction of the two German states and in the status of a united Germany, so that it is weapon-free.

[Neef] You said immediately after the meeting with Chief of Staff Moiseyev that this was a very specific round of talks. In what way was it specific? Was it a matter of such modalities as, for example, the later withdrawal, the Soviet troop withdrawal, from the territory of the GDR, or security problems of the Western group? Can you be more specific about this?

[Eppelmann] I tried to make it clear to the chief of staff in what a complicated situation those bearing political responsibility in the GDR currently find themselves. First, they have the soldiers. At least 80 percent of GDR citizens are in favor of German unity, and simultaneously more than 90 percent are apparently in favor of a market economy, (as was always suspected). That means being linked with the West. If CEMA and the Warsaw Pact still exist in the foreseeable future, they will be without a united German republic. I put it like that to Mr. Moiseyev, and I also told him that I might be hurting him. However, I think friends should be honest with one another and not lie to each other.

My impression is, as has become clear since Bonn, that the Soviet Union has understood, right up to the political leadership, that it cannot prolong the process of German unification, or it would contribute to a process of destabilization in Central Europe, because then the flood of those GDR citizens who leave the territory of the GDR and go to Cologne, or Frankfurt am Main, or Hamburg would increase massively again, with the result that we must live with the idea that German and European unity cannot be set at a certain point in time and that we must find an interim solution which links all the motives and intentions I cited—and that might not be all of them—so that all those who have interests and fears can live with it.

I would like to return to the issue of the cost of stationing the Western Group. This subject played a role twice. [passage omitted on Eppelmann reiterating offers by the FRG to help pay for the costs of stationing the Western Group] Secondly, what is the relationship like between the Western Group and the Germans in the area, the former GDR. Here both parties started from the assumption that in the interim period, of which I have already spoken, where there will be German unity, but not yet European unity, because there is no European security system, there will presumably be allied troops on German soil—Englishmen, Americans, Frenchmen, and Soviets. Such a stationing, and such a voluntary renunciation of sovereignty on the part of FRG will only be tolerable if the relationship between the Western Group and the Germans in the GDR is a good and friendly one.

[Neef] What is the situation concerning the previously comprehensive training of GDR officers here in Moscow? I assume that it too will be reduced.

[Eppelmann] In this area, nothing at all has been changed. I think this will be one of the subjects of discussion at the beginning of June, when it will be a matter of the future of the Warsaw Pact, when the alliance's defense ministers meet in Berlin. [passage omitted on expanded agenda, and Eppelmann being the only civilian Warsaw Pact defense minister. He thinks that after the elections in East Europe, he will not be the only one]

[Neef] You have spoken much of solidarity with Gorbachev before now, and solidarity with Soviet perestroika. This particularly affects the Army, the Soviet Army, which is having difficulties following the political changes, and which has to compensate for social hardships, particularly in view of the coming troop reductions. Has the military pointed to the great difficulties disarmament and troop reductions are causing them and how we could, on our part too, accommodate the Soviet Union?

[Eppelmann] I can understand your question as I see the problems in the same way you do. There was talk of problems in talks with Moiseyev and Falin, as well as 10 days ago with the marshal of the Soviet Union, Yazov. [passage omitted recapping offer by the FRG to pay for rehousing Soviet officers in the Soviet Union, which Eppelmann conveyed to Yazov, and why Eppelmann laid flowers on Khrushchev's grave] [end recording]

Eppelmann: Jun Pact Meeting Agenda Expanded

LD1005200290 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 2006 GMT 10 May 90

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—The defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact states will deviate from the original plan and discuss an expanded agenda at their meeting in Berlin in June. As Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann announced to ADN, they are thereby following a suggestion by the GDR, aimed at accounting for the new situation which arose in East Europe more than six months ago. In talks held with his counterparts from the Pact states, during his visit to the USSR—which ended today [10 May]—and which was chaired by Army General Petr Lushev, commander in chief of the Combined Forces and first deputy defense minister of the USSR, agreement was achieved that in all areas, including the future of the alliance, it would be a matter of taking into account the imminent German unification.

In further talks with Army Gen. Lushev, Eppelmann expressed his opinion that there exists a whole series of common interests among members of the Warsaw Pact. He considers a joint approach to the countries of West Europe, with whom Eppelmann sees a growing affinity among alliance members, favorable. Apart from this, he put forward the idea of using the Berlin ministers conference to give a signal in the direction of cooperation with NATO, as many countries already have bilateral contacts between politicians and the military from both pact systems. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere, Kohl To Meet After Treaty Talks

LD1005173590 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1509 GMT 10 May 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The talks on the draft State Treaty between the GDR and the FRG are to be concluded by Sunday evening [12 May]. Afterward, there will be talks at the ministerial level in which Premier Lothar de Maiziere and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl will participate, according to necessity. On Monday [14 May] the negotiated draft treaty will be presented to the party groups in the People's Chamber. State Secretary Dr. Guenter Krause today [11 May] expounded on this timetable for the path toward monetary, economic, and social union between the GDR and FRG at the sixth session of the People's Chamber. [passage omitted] Guaranteeing stable foreign trade relations with the Soviet Union was also a focus of the talks.

The Christian Democratic Union politician assumes that the real incomes of GDR citizens will not be reduced with the introduction of the Deutsche mark and might move to between DM 1,600 and DM 1,800. The state secretary repeated the statement by both governments that at first rents, fares, and energy prices would remain at their current level.

Dr. Krause said it is necessary for 1.5 million workers to take part in retraining schemes. Any help in this from the FRG would be welcome.

During a heated debate, a deputy from the Alliance '90/Green group put forward a motion of no-confidence in the way State Secretary Dr. Krause was conducting the negotiations.

De Maiziere Meets West Berlin Mayor Momper

LD1005185690 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1736 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Premier Lothar de Maiziere met this evening [10 May] with Walter Momper, governing mayor of Berlin (West), at his official residence for informal talks.

Before the start of the talks, Momper told reporters that the topics for the talks would be problems arising from the growing together [of the two German states] and the State Treaty, in particular problems affecting people in the GDR and, of course, in West Berlin. He cited social effects such as unemployment. He said: "We will have a full share of them in West Berlin, too."

Issues which have great significance for the growing together of the two parts of Berlin will also be of great significance, such as the practical issues of the demolition of the border, the Wall, the immigration union, and everything connected with it, as well as the question of the capital. The governing mayor noted that the GDR's premier has adopted a clear position on Berlin as the capital.

Momper announced that there will be more talks between him and Lothar de Maiziere.

De Maiziere on Unity's Social Aspects, Financing

*AU1005194090 Mainz ZDF Television Network
in German 1700 GMT 10 May 90*

[Report on interview with Premier Lothar de Maiziere by unidentified ZDF reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Social aspects continue to be discussed in the negotiations between East Berlin and Bonn on a State Treaty. Many questions are still open. Premier de Maiziere told ZDF:

[De Maiziere] It must be ensured that no citizen will be worse off than before. The introduction of the Deutsche mark must result in an improvement. This alone will be due to the greater purchasing power of the currency.

[Reporter] Does this concern employees as well as pensioners?

[De Maiziere] They are also concerned. But we have, of course, certain problems with the pensions, because the structures of the pension systems are completely different. Of course, we proceed on the assumption that there must be models for adaptation. Many will be better off because of this regulation—that is, 70 percent after 45 years of work with comparable wages—but there are also problems for some people. There is also the promise to ensure at least the previous amount.

We will also find certain models to purposefully decrease hardships caused by reduced subsidies. We will not, however, allot a general amount to all people in exchange for reduced subsidies, because this would continue the previous state of affairs—that is, no more subsidies for products, but for persons. This cannot be the objective of the introduction of a market economy.

[Reporter] The GDR does not have the money to implement this. The question is: Where will it come from? Should it come from Bonn? Is this your objective in the negotiations?

[De Maiziere] You know, the question is not necessarily how to finance this at present. The money will certainly have to be advanced, but it will, of course, also be a question of credits. Thus, one of the decisive questions in the negotiations on a State Treaty is how these debts will be dealt with on Day X—that is, the day of German unity. Then it will be clear that this will not be borne by our people alone, but by all forces of the then unified Germany.

Romberg Demands Improvements in State Treaty

*AU1005194790 East Berlin BERLINER
ALLGEMEINE in German 4 May 90 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Further Round of Talks on State Treaty Under Way"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The German-German expert talks on the State Treaty were resumed in Berlin yesterday afternoon [3 May]. The delegations are headed by GDR State Secretary Krause and adviser to the FRG chancellor, Hans Tietmeyer.

Before the resumption of the talks, Krause made it clear that after Wednesday's [2 May] agreements, numerous details have to be specified. The GDR's future development structure will have to be determined. Thus, the country's agriculture will have to be adapted to EC standards. Krause stressed that so far, no state treaty exists that can be published. In order not to disquiet the population in the GDR and FRG, both sides have agreed not to disclose the contents of the State Treaty. The state secretary emphasized that talks are not held against each other but with each other. The negotiations are designed to bring about economic restructuring of the GDR without endangering the Deutsche mark.

Finance Minister Romberg (Social Democratic Party of Germany) has described as indispensable social improvements in favor of the GDR, in negotiations on the State Treaty. The price increases that take effect on 2 July must not burden the socially disadvantaged in the GDR. Finance Minister Romberg pointed out immediately before his talks with FRG Finance Minister Waigel (Christian Social Union). His party wants to insist on cost of living allowances within the framework of a special equalization law. The inclusion of such a regulation is of essential significance for the social democrats in the overall assessment of the State Treaty. This must be made very clear at this point, Romberg stated, referring to the fact that considerable social and political problems will arise as a result of the implementation of monetary union. [passage omitted]

People's Chamber To Hear Administrative Laws

*LD1005090890 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0810 GMT 10 May 90*

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The sixth session of the People's Chamber began on Thursday [10 May] at 1000 [0800 GMT]. On the agenda are motions from the Council of Ministers concerning a law on the self-administration of communities and regional districts (communal constitution), on ending the legislative period of the area diets, and on the new version of the law on responsibility and court procedure during the checking of administrative decisions. The session will end, following a motion from the parliamentary group of the Party for Democratic Socialism, with a question time on the state and content of the negotiations on the State Treaty between the GDR and the FRG on the creation of

monetary, economic, and social union. State Secretary Dr. Guenther Krause, negotiations head on the GDR side, will explain the state of the talks to the parliament. Discussions on all agenda items are planned, whereby the parliamentary groups have agreed on various time limits, ranging in each case from five to 20 minutes. [passage omitted]

Krause Presents Economic Statistics to Chamber

LD1005165990 Hamburg DPA in German
1512 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA/VWD) [VWD - Vereinigte Wirtschaftsdienst]—State Secretary Guenther Krause (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] presented a balance sheet of the GDR's debts to the People's Chamber today [10 May]. At the start of question time on the State Treaty, he said net foreign indebtedness to the West amounted to 125 billion GDR marks. Credits by GDR banks to the economy amounted to 260 billion GDR marks as of 31 December. Housing construction is in debt to the tune of 108 billion GDR marks.

Krause said the reliability of GDR enterprises in making repayments was poor at the moment, and he spoke of a difficult transition from a command and "botched-up economy to a social market economy."

Krause said current projections, calculated on the basis of Deutsche marks [DM], showed that the GDR state budget deficit could rise to 120 billion DM by the end of 1991. Krause presented the results of an investigation carried out at the beginning of May into the state of GDR enterprises: Of over 1,000 enterprises investigated, only 32 percent could continue to function without help and support. Fifty-four percent are making a loss, but are worth reorganizing. The rest are in danger of bankruptcy.

The state secretary, who is head of the GDR delegation at the State Treaty negotiations, said the GDR's gross domestic product for 1989 was 350 billion GDR marks, and total savings at the turn of the year had been 160 billion. In the first quarter of this year they had grown by three billion marks. Savings "differed widely": Ten percent of savers owned 90 percent of the savings. In the past few months the amount of cash in circulation had fallen to 12.6 billion marks.

Protective Measures for Farmers Announced

AU1005200590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 5-6 May 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Agricultural Imports Must Now Be Licensed"]

[Text] Berlin—The protests of the farmers and the people against the flood of agricultural imports from the FRG have been effective. On 2 May 1990, the GDR Council of Ministers decided on important measures to solve marketing and sales problems without delay, and to reduce surpluses in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry and to protect the GDR foodstuff market.

The measures are aimed at increasing the production and sale of domestic products on the market, relaxing the situation in animal production, particularly in meat stock and milk, and at protecting the domestic market.

On the basis of the resolution, a central import and export license will be introduced by the Foodstuffs, Agriculture and Forestry Ministry as of now and, by agreement with the Trade and Tourism Ministry. This license will be applied to a total of 10 types of products, including meat, meat products, and sausages, including canned products, poultry and rabbits, sugar and sugar products including honey and ice cream, fruit, vegetables and edible potatoes including canned products, flowers and ornamental plants including seeds.

Licenses can be applied for by GDR wholesale and retail enterprises, subsidiaries of foreign and FRG enterprises on the territory of the GDR, agricultural and horticultural production cooperatives, sales and production enterprises of agricultural raw materials.

The applications for licenses should be addressed to: Institute of the Agricultural Market Order [Anstalt fuer Landwirtschaftliche Marktordnung], Koepenicker Allee 39-57, Berlin 1157.

With the Council of Ministers' resolution of 2 May, the authority of the Bezirk and/or Kreis Council chairmen to grant licenses for the above products expires; this authority was laid down in the Council of Ministers' resolution of 8 February 1990 "on the principles of the sale of goods and services from the FRG, Berlin (West), and other countries in the GDR for GDR marks and Deutsche marks."

Deputy Finance Minister on Tax Reform Details

AU1105082890 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German
8 May 90 p 2

[ADN report: "New Tax System To Be Introduced"]

[Text] Berlin—With the transition to a social market economy, the GDR will essentially take over the FRG's well-functioning tax system, because for a single economic area a single tax system is indispensable. That was stated by Acting Deputy Finance Minister Martin Maassen in an ADN interview. It will become effective as of 1 January 1991.

According to the financial expert, the first step on the road to this goal will be to introduce, on the day of economic and monetary union, value-added tax, specific consumer taxes on beer, brandy, coffee, tea, illuminants, petroleum, sugar, salt, sparkling wine, and tobacco, as well as a new fiscal code regulating the rights and duties of GDR citizens and enterprises regarding taxes. As of 1 January 1991, additional types of taxation would be taken over from the FRG. They include income and wage taxes, corporate taxes, trade and property taxes, inheritance and gift taxes, property tax and property

acquisition tax, valuation provisions and the motor vehicle tax. The West German tax system has about 40 types of taxes.

Currently, between 120 and 130 tax offices, which will have more than 25,000 employees, as well as 21 main customs offices, including the inland customs offices assigned to them, which will have a total of 7,000 staff members, are being set up. Later on, as institutions of the laender, they will impose taxes. Martin Maassen pointed out the necessity of creating a number of legal adjustment and transition regulations for taking over the FRG tax laws.

The deputy finance minister said that the value-added or net turnover tax is a general tax on the total private and public consumption. It has to be paid by the final buyer of a newly created product, for instance, by the consumer. According to the FRG model, it will generally amount to 14 percent of the value created. Regarding foodstuffs and agricultural products, a reduced rate of seven percent will be imposed.

Maassen said that the individual specific consumer taxes are an important financial policy instrument to influence the consumption and use of certain products and services. To prepare these two major types of taxes, comprehensive and intensive work will be required regarding legislation and training of the employees in the future fiscal offices as well as in factories and companies, which will then be confronted with them.

Maassen said, concerning the impact of the value-added and consumer tax, that it is assumed that the prices for goods and services will be formed according to market economy conditions, initially perhaps with the exception of rents, energy and transport costs, and prices for real estate. He said that prices in the FRG are both higher and lower as compared to those in the GDR. With the exception of bread and rolls, food prices are lower, and for industrial products, they are considerably lower. On the other hand, the West German tax laws show that the burdens resulting from social insurance, old-age pension

insurance, and health insurance generally are considerably higher than in the GDR, while wage taxes for average income groups are somewhat lower. In view of the current negotiations on the State Treaty, Maassen refused to give more details.

Asked about the taxation of factories and companies, the financial expert said that a transitional settlement has been found for 1990 regarding state-owned enterprises and combines which are being converted into limited liability companies [GmbH] or joint stock companies. Under this settlement, these enterprises will pay taxes and other duties as before, until monetary union is introduced. After that, they would first have to pay value-added tax, second, consumer tax—if applicable—and, third, a lump sum tax in the form of a monthly installment, which will be oriented at an average tax of comparable companies in the FRG. Maassen said that as of 1 January 1991, they will have to pay corporate, property, and trade taxes.

According to Maassen, newly founded companies or companies that are about to be founded, including mixed enterprises, will have to pay taxes in accordance with the tax laws following monetary union. These tax laws would not change much in the case of craft industries or commercial businesses. An essential change is the fact that, as a result of the amendment of the tax law decided by the People's Chamber, some of the taxes are considerably lower in 1990 than they were in the past.

GDR TUs Leave FDGB Umbrella Organization

LD0905160490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1507 GMT 9 May 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—All 20 GDR industrial trade unions and other trade unions today [9 May] officially left the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] umbrella organization. In Berlin they briefed journalists from the East and West on their intention to form an association of free and independent trade unions without delay. Among the reasons they gave was that the present umbrella organization is no longer able to meet the challenge of the time and is politically discredited.

National Security Spokesman on KGB Activity

LD1005141190 Budapest MTI in English
1247 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—The investigation of the charges in connection with the Hungarian deals of the ANT Soviet cooperative falls in the scope of police or prosecution, said a spokesman for the National Security Office in answer to a question by MTI. (The case was reported in previous items.)

Spokesman Tivadar Parvy said there was no communication between the office and the KGB relating to the affair. To the question whether preventing the sale of ANT plane drives was a KGB provocation or not, the spokesman had nothing to say but that in the Soviet Union investigation of organized crime fell in the scope of the KGB, especially when the case had international implications.

In connection with the question whether Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty would increase the KGB's interest in Hungary, the spokesman said that should any foreign secret services step up their activity, government officials and parliament's National Security Committee would be informed in time.

He also said that the KGB office in Hungary moved from the building of the State Security Service, which had to be wound up, a year ago. Liaisons moved their headquarters to the Soviet Embassy in Budapest. The Hungarian Embassy in Moscow also had Hungarian experts with a similar mission.

No figure was given to the question how many countries have intelligence cooperation with Hungary. The only thing revealed was that Hungary had joint projects with Western secret services as well, for instance in fighting terrorism and traffic in drugs.

MDF Official Against Pact Withdrawal Proposal

LD1105090690 Budapest MTI in English
0655 GMT 11 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI)—Geza Jeszenszky, head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), felt the proposal by the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] for Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty was ill-timed.

Mr. Jeszenszky delivered a lecture in English at the University of Economics on Thursday [10 May] to an audience of diplomats, journalists and political scientists on the foreign political line of the new government.

First of all he rebutted the allegations carried by the "LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA." The Soviet newspaper called Hungary "the leading fighter of revanchism and chauvinism in East Europe," and expressed concern over a potential explosion of new conflicts in the region after the Soviet Union's responsibility had ceased.

Mr. Jeszenszky underlined that it was precisely the disappearance of the communist regimes that raised the hope of the emergence of democracy and tolerance even on the international scene.

At the same time, it was a grave error to call the patriotic policy committed to traditions chauvinistic, especially these days when national political endeavours were accompanied by an unconditional respect for European values.

The most important of these, he went on to say, was the assertion of minority rights, including the rights of ethnic, religious or ideological minorities.

The same thing was true of cultural and educational diversity, which did not pose the slightest threat to any country's territorial integrity. Mr. Jeszenszky also spoke a few words in advocacy of ethnic universities.

He stressed that Hungary felt any change in borders was totally out of the question, since such changes would not be a solution to ethnic questions. The only answer lay in the federalization of Europe.

Answering questions, Mr. Jeszenszky said his personal opinion was that the AFD proposal submitted to parliament for Hungary's leaving the Warsaw Treaty was ill-timed. On the one hand, the question should be discussed by a committee first, with inter-party coordination under an agreement between the HDF [MDF] and the AFD relating to key issues.

On the other hand, although the conditions that led to forming the Warsaw Treaty ceased to exist, it would be better to change an existing international treaty and organization through negotiations and considering the just security interests of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Jeszenszky pointed to the fact that Imre Nagy's decision on unilateral withdrawal in 1956 was a desperate move taken in the hope of averting imminent Soviet intervention.

"However, no such danger exists today," said Mr. Jeszenszky, adding that the HDF was also of the opinion that the Warsaw Treaty should be replaced by a pan-European security system.

Committee To View Relationship With Warsaw Pact

LD1005184790 Budapest MTI in English
1714 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—Parliament's Defence Committee proposes setting up an ad hoc committee which would comprehensively examine the draft resolution put forward by the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] concerning the relationship between the Republic of Hungary and the Warsaw Treaty, and the related proposal of the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ].

The body, it is suggested, should include members of the Constitutional, Legislative and Judicial Committee and the Defence Committee.

The Defence Committee came to their decision behind closed doors, although the first part of their Thursday [10 May] session was open to journalists.

Newsmen could see for themselves that committee members want to see an independent, sovereign Hungary, but that they were divided as to just how this should be attained.

Sandor Szili (Hungarian Socialist Party) believed such a decision should be carefully considered because of its possible economic implications and effects on the army.

Tamas Wachler (Federation of Young Democrats) presented a proposed amendment which clearly states the intention of withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty.

He said that even until an agreement is reached, parliament should request the government to suspend Hungary's participation not only in the military, but also in the political, organization of the Warsaw Treaty.

On the other hand, Janos Balogh (Alliance of Free Democrats) stressed the importance of graduality, pointing out that Hungary should follow the French example and leave only the military organization of the bloc.

The committee finally accepted the proposal of Secretary Gabor Perjes (Hungarian Democratic Forum) to set up the ad hoc committee.

It was decided to form four working committees: These will be responsible for matters of principle and political strategy, personnel, material-technical, economic, and financial matters, and youth, education and civilian defence.

It was also pointed out that the body should establish close relations with the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Defence Committee.

Horn Against Hasty Decision

*LD1005205390 Budapest MTI in English
1954 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—At a closed-door session on Thursday [10 May], parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee discussed the draft proposal put forward by the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] to the Wednesday [9 May] parliamentary session in connection with the relationship between Hungary and the Warsaw Treaty. The AFD asked its proposal to be included in the agenda with urgency.

In his briefing on the session, Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said, "in view of the extremely intricate international legal, military, international and domestic political and economic issues and correlations concerned, the committee proposed the

speaker of parliament should order a voting on May 15 whether parliament discuss the draft proposal with urgency or not.

"Our position, formulated after extensive debates, is that as the issue needs to be thoroughly examined, parliament should by no means discuss it with urgency."

Expressing his personal opinion, Gyula Horn said, "it's only natural for a country to strive for getting rid of the ties of affiliation to an alliance system. At the same time, we must not take any steps which may have unpredictable consequences and cause serious damage to our national interests.

"In my view, putting the initiative into practice hardly fits into the current European processes. Therefore, it has to be considered very carefully before being presented to parliament. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Ambassador Meiszter on Vienna Disarmament Talks

*AU1005160390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
5 May 90 p 7*

[Interview with David Meiszter, Hungary's ambassador at the Vienna disarmament talks, by Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "When the Hungarian Proposal in Vienna Differed From the Soviet One—Interview With Ambassador David Meiszter on Limitations of Bloc Views"]

[Excerpts] [Vajda] The statements and declarations published after the sixth round of the Vienna talks that concluded last year were not too optimistic, although previously it seemed there was hope for the clearer emergence of an agreement on the reduction of conventional Armed Forces.

[Meiszter] Indeed, even before the fifth round, there were opinions that a breakthrough should be achieved by all means if we wanted to preserve the planned pace of negotiations. [passage omitted]

[Vajda] Obviously, it is alarming that negotiations are not advancing at the desired pace....

[Meiszter] The United States rang the alarm bells prior to the sixth round of talks that began on 14 March, by saying that we have to work out a 400-page document, and so far only eight pages are ready. We still have to decide on some 100 serious issues. In this way, they wanted to express their justified concern and encourage the conference to make new efforts.

[Vajda] Is this really the essence of the problem?

[Meiszter] We see it differently. The problem does not lie in the fact that the negotiations have been extended in time, but in the fact that, concerning the essence of their approach, the negotiations are lagging behind the radical

changes that have taken place in Central-East Europe. According to the concept of the negotiations, an agreement must be reached between two confronting blocs having internal discipline. [passage omitted]

The changes in Europe have undermined the previous basis of these negotiations. First of all, we can no longer talk about two confronting alliances because confrontation has essentially ceased to exist. Second, we can no longer talk about two alliances having internal discipline either; at most, we can talk about one. Third, one cannot think only in terms of alliance obligations because the implementation of agreements could be problematic when changes are taking place in that alliance itself. In our view, these are the main problems, and not the lack of time. [passage omitted]

[Vajda] Our discussion also confirms that previous impression, that a lot depends today on the attitude of the Soviet Union. In your view, what is the essence of the dilemma confronting the Soviet Union in connection with these negotiations?

[Meisster] The essence is that now they have to reduce their Armed Forces radically, and the other side does not have to. When this causes them difficulties, they do not even realize why they have reached such a high level in developing some armaments in their arsenal. In addition, they do not see clearly enough that making "sacrifices" could represent the beginning of a period characterized by equal reductions of arms. If they are willing to take these steps, they can contribute to laying the foundations of a new security system, which would no longer focus on the military element. [passage omitted]

Trade Ministry Official on EC Finance Moves

LD1005154290 Budapest MTI in English
1343 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 10, 1990 (MTI-ECONES)—Trade and financial circles in Hungary were not surprised by the report in Wednesday's [9 May] NEW YORK TIMES on the intention of the EC countries to set up a convertible revolving assets fund for Eastern European countries, in order to ease their conversion to convertible accounting.

Mrs. Ivan Szegvari, head of the Department of International Cooperation and Finance at the Hungarian Ministry of Trade, told MTI-ECONES that this was not the first time advanced industrial countries have stated that the introduction of dollar accounting in East European trade must not destroy existing contacts between them.

The NEW YORK TIMES also quoted the recent economic conference of EBEE [expansion unknown], held in Bonn, at which the concept of a monetary union, reminiscent of the European Payments Union established in Western Europe after World War II, was raised.

Recently, Hungarian-born Gyorgy Soros, the U.S. businessman, raised the possibility that he could gain the support of Western European banks for a similar plan.

In Mrs. Szegvari's opinion, the plan of any payments or monetary union would be viable only if market economy conditions were, more or less, identical in the joining countries. The reality, however, is that the countries in question are becoming market economies in different ways and at different speeds.

She went on to stress that any fund which would help to balance current accounts between Eastern European countries would only function efficiently if the Soviet Union was also involved.

Mrs. Szegvari expressed the view that, should any such fund be created without the Soviet Union, it could play a vital role in giving help to Romania and Bulgaria in their debt servicing obligations. Every Comecon [CEMA] country has a substantial trade surplus with Romania and Bulgaria because exporters experience difficulty [as received] in finding goods in these two countries which they would buy in return for their exports.

Government Commissioner on Danube Dam Talks

LD1005201190 Budapest MTI in English
1920 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—There is the possibility that the bilateral talks on the Gabcikovo hydroelectric dam project can only be continued with the new government after the Czechoslovakian elections, Gyorgy Szanto, head of the government commissioner's secretariat of the Danube barrage, told MTI's correspondent.

The question of the rate of talks came up again in connection with the recent interpellation of Jaroslav Shuva, minister of fuel and energy, who said that the sides may possibly sit down to the conference table as early as May.

Gyorgy Szanto repeatedly pointed out that the letter in which Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth expounded the Hungarian position on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, first on January 10 and then on March 6, has been left unanswered up to the present day. Should the Czechoslovak side officially formulate its position, it will be thoroughly considered.

In his letter, Miklos Nemeth stated that Hungary would find it purposeful for the new governments to start negotiations about the project which raises grave ecological problems. He also proposed launching joint research—with the participation of jointly selected, independent international experts—before the talks on amending the relevant inter-state agreement. This has not taken place so far.

On the other hand, during its April 25 session the Slovakian Government basically noted that the Gabčíkovo facility cannot be set to operation before 1992. It also decided to limit construction works to a certain extent, Gyorgy Szanto said.

1st Quarter Foreign Trade Figures Released

LD1005153790 Budapest MTI in English
1413 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 10, 1990 (MTI-ECONews)—Foreign Trade Balance (including transport costs)

	1989	1990
	Jan - March	Jan - March
Ruble trade, million rubles	+ 101.2	- 177.1
Convertible trade, million U.S. dollars	+ 5.4	+ 159.6
Total, billion forints	+ 3.3	+ 5.5

Trade Ministry Report on Joint Ventures

LD1105091190 Budapest MTI in English
0821 GMT 11 May 90

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI)—The Ministry of Trade has prepared a survey on the activity of joint ventures. The report reveals that the total of 33 jvs [joint ventures] formed between 1972 and 1985 grew to 250 by late 1988 and 1,100 by the present date.

Foreign capital investment has reached 420-450 million dollars.

The figures show that foreign capital has been attracted most of all by the fields of trade and tourism. Catering and services, involving foreign active capital in the production sphere as well would require easing licencing procedures.

As far as tourism is concerned, the trade ministry is of the opinion that state coordination should be stepped up parallel to working out a system which prevented touristic revenues breaking up into little fragments. This, however, requires settling and clearing up ownership relations as regards the foundation of touristic joint ventures.

Last year, a good many jvs were formed to whose equity the foreign side contributed exports of non-liberalized products, chiefly consumer goods. This is bad, as these jvs sold the consumer goods in Hungary, but paid the rather high dividends abroad in foreign currency. What it basically means is that such companies go round imports restrictions on consumer goods and create currency conditions not favourable for Hungary.

Pozsgay on Political Future, Prospects

AU1005174690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 5 May 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Hungarian Socialist Party's Imre Pozsgay by Zoltan Lovas; place and date not given: "A New Political Arena?—Pozsgay: When the Level of Oxygen Is Dropping"]

[Excerpts] Imre Pozsgay thinks that the current political vacuum he is in is temporary. He thinks that a new political arena has emerged for him within the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP].

[Lovas] The bilateral agreement between the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] eliminated the chances of some people becoming president in case of direct presidential elections. I think of you, for example, or Miklos Nemeth, or Gyula Horn.

[Pozsgay] Indeed, it seems that nothing would come out of the aforementioned chances. However, the time for the necessary constitutional change is still ahead. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] You have certainly been disappointed by the recent developments....

[Pozsgay] I was disappointed mainly in the election campaign. Everyone who accepts political struggle and loses feels disappointment. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] You were the one who helped give birth to the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and you were the one who let a certain genie out of a certain bottle. You partially created the current political situation in Hungary. When you did all this, did you think that this would be the result?

[Pozsgay] No, I did not; nor did I think of being rewarded for it. When I accepted the presidential nomination, I regarded it as a new arena of struggle. [passage omitted]

[Lovas] Is it a typical reformed communist fate that someone is playing a historical role in eliminating the old regime, and then he gets in a vacuum....?

[Pozsgay] Yes, but I regard this vacuum as temporary, because the HSP continues to exist. It got hold of itself and made it into the parliament. A new political arena has opened for me within this party. I hope that the HSP congress in May will bring a European socialist-social democratic development for this party. The left wing will sooner or later be able to unite the values of the Latin socialist movements and those of the German-Austrian-Swedish social democracy.

[Lovas] Why would only the HSP be the sole guarantor of leftist values in the parliament? There are a lot of leftist thinkers among the members of other parties too.

For example, the SZDSZ could also become a strong social democratic party, perhaps with greater chances than the HSP....

[Pozsgay] There might be such people, and I hope that there are people who think democratically and in a leftist

way among the members of other parties. But I speak about parties. If I regard their attitude, organizational composition, and identity, I must say that only the HSP has been consistently leftist in the European sense of the word. As a party, no other party has done the same since October. [passage omitted]

Police Replace Civic Militia; Security Dissolved*LD1005131390 Warsaw PAP in English
1140 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—The Polish Civic Militia MO has been replaced today by police whose structures are to be organized within three months.

The security service was also formally dissolved today, and its functionaries are to perform their duties until the Office for the Protection of the State starts to operate in three months.

Head of State Protection Office Appointed*LD1005192590 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1730 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Krzysztof Kozlowski has been made head of the State Protection Office [Urząd Ochrony Państwa]. The chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed him to this post at the recommendation of the minister of internal affairs and after consulting the Political Advisory Committee attached to the minister of internal affairs. Andrzej Milczanowski will be Krzysztof Kozlowski's deputy. The premier has appointed Colonel Leszek Lamparski commander in chief of the police; his deputies will be Colonels Bogusław Strzelecki and Janusz Wydra.

At the same time, the chairman of the Council of Ministers recalled, in connection with the disbanding of the Civic Militia [MO], Lieutenant General Zenon Trzcinski from the post of commander in chief of the MO.

Walesa Supports Strike Action at Gdansk Shipyard*LD1005141890 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1400 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] For the first time since Mazowiecki's government took power, Lech Walesa has supported the strikers. Here is a quote from a letter to the Gdansk shipyard workers:

I have learned that you are trying to fight for your rights. At the last rally, I told you that the shipyard has done enough for Poland and now it should start thinking of itself. I therefore support your struggle. I want you to know that I am ashamed of the present government, which is our government. I am ashamed because so far it has not found favorable solutions to the shipyard's problems. You must fight, and you can count on me in that fight. Signed: Lech Walesa.

The striking workers in Gdansk shipyard's (S)-3 section have dispersed.

On Shipyard, Economic Conditions*LD1005183490 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1730 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Lech Walesa was answering questions from journalists and workers today at the Puck Engineering Factory. Lech Walesa referred to the matter of the Gdansk shipyard, about which—in his opinion—the government seemed to have forgotten, by allowing various companies legally to make fortunes on its premises. The Solidarity leader is equally worried by the situation in the health service, in which many people still earn a mere 250,000 zlotys a month. Lech Walesa affirmed the need to announce new elections to the Sejm and Senate in a year and also appealed to Andrzej Gwiazda and Marian Jurczyk to be his allies again, as they once were.

Walesa gave support to the United Polish Peasant Party, on the condition that this unity would not be directed against the interests of the workers and townspeople. Lech Walesa took a critical stance on some actions by Deputy Premier Balcerowicz. His plan, he said, is ideal, but for American conditions.

News Conference on Shipyard, Democracy*LD1005224190 Warsaw PAP in English 2209 GMT
10 May 90*

[Text] Gdansk, May 10—Holding his weekly press conference today, Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa said he was worried about the fate of the Gdansk shipyard and about the results of the Balcerowicz plan, and called for participation in the upcoming elections.

Concept of Democracy

The Solidarnosc chairman shared his concern over the present situation in Poland, stating: I do not like what is taking place in Poland today. I think that we chose wrong concepts. Today a great political dispute is under way, and there are two opposing perceptions of democracy. For the advocates of the first one, democracy is a process which can be steered, a ship which politicians lead through the uneasy waters of political forces. These forces, which can sink the ship, are latent at the moment but any moment now...

"Such a concept was chosen today. I also thought that it was right. On the other hand, when we take a closer look, it turns out that this was probably not what we wanted. I support the other concept: Its advocates rather tend to accept that democracy is a specific force, a realm of the spontaneous activity of individuals under the iron control of law. The right to steer does not consist in a moral superiority of the helmsmen but in the arithmetics of freedom of choice. Free societies base their existence not on social peace but on constant political unease, not on smothering conflicts but on their constant public decompression.

"At issue is not struggle for posts, for the office of president, or prime minister, but a concept, a choice of a concept. I favour the second concept."

Walesa appealed to Gwiazda and Jurczyk for cooperation.

Stressing that he did not want to be the president although he thinks he knows how to speak about Polish matters in a way that everyone understand him, Walesa stated that in his opinion someone holding this office should vigorously combat all evil and introduce order.

Unrest in Gdansk Shipyard

Speaking about unrest in the Gdansk shipyard, Walesa confirmed that he had issued a letter to the crew in which he endorses their struggle for workers' rights and expresses concern over the government's handling of the matter. "This is not a provocation or war against the government but the matter of the shipyard has been dragging for too long," Walesa said.

Speaking about the unification of the PSL Polish Peasant Party, Walesa said: "If one peasant party is to help the country then that is okay. Our interests must be solved through compromise. At present we have little to distribute and must try to make it through Poland's poor days."

Walesa announced that he would present the matter of changing the concept of Polish democracy at the upcoming meeting of the Citizen's Committee.

In a traditional vote held in the conclusion of the press conference, no one was in favour of the to-date concept, termed by Walesa as "steered" and everyone voted for the concept of a "self-steering" democracy and political struggle.

Najder Notes Support for Walesa Candidacy

LD1005212890 Warsaw PAP in English 2051 GMT
10 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 10: Zdzislaw Najder, the chairman of the citizen's committee to Lech Walesa, meeting students of the post-graduate centre for training state administration employees in Warsaw today, said he was convinced that the future parliamentary elections in Poland would take place March 1991, [at] the latest, and perhaps even earlier and that they would be preceded by presidential elections. Najder stated in part:

"I think that we will once again enter the elections on the basis of citizen's committees and the proper political divisions will surface in the new parliament.

"I am skeptical about the results of polling results indicating reservations and doubts as to Lech Walesa running for president. During many meetings I hear of support for the chairman of Solidarnosc. I do not believe however that Tadeusz Mazowiecki would want to be a

counter-candidate for Walesa in the presidential elections. This would have grave consequences not only for both of them but also, in the long-term, would bear impact on a division between the intelligentsia and working class."

Second Solidarity Congress Assessed

AU1005161090 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC
in Polish 4 May 90 p 15

[Article by Andrzej Urbanski and Maciej Zalewski: "A New Timetable"]

[Text] People were afraid of this congress. High-level contests took place behind the scenes until the very last minute, for Solidarity could have split into ideologically hostile factions and regional groups which, as the experience of 1980 shows, talk about the reforms with less energy than they do about the past.

But something else might also have happened, for here we have a union whose activity so far has been hampered by obstacles and which is centered on Walesa and is inaugurating a new dynamism of change, but which nevertheless still tolerates the same balance of forces in the state.

The responsibility resting on the delegates at the Olivia Hall was no smaller than it was 9 years ago.

In a speech full of emotion, Walesa spoke about the danger of evil temptation. Solidarity might join the battle for power over Poland, but by doing so it might risk its political monopoly. He begged that this not be allowed to happen. His request was heard, but he paid the price for the rejection of that scenario. He consolidated his leadership position, but he emerged the leader of a union that still cannot see any straight road before it and does not fully know how to take part in the reforms.

The political paradox of 1990 is that struggles inside offices on the subject of the reform, in which the role of an organized society is negligible, are already a thing of the past, but there is still no great social movement capable of changing the props on the stage of public life.

The political elites, who support the contract with the old ruling camp, are trying to convince everyone else that it is better and safer for a ruined country that things remain the way they are for the time being. Slowness and caution are supposed to guarantee democracy.

Did the hall silently accept this contract, so different from the one of August 1980?

The first question asked by the congress was: How is Solidarity supposed to take part in the transformations if a major part of its energy is used to overcome the bickering between elites inside their offices?

The Government Demands Iron Consistency, Solidarity Will Not Heed Instructions

In his message to the Congress, Premier Mazowiecki made a suggestion. Reaffirming his Solidarity identity, he demanded that the union leave the country's main political arena. To compensate for that, he said, the Union could assume joint responsibility for the form and content of the new social contract which the government will implement.

Minister Kuron made a surprising admission from the podium. He admitted that after eight months, his Ministry of Labor has no social program whatsoever.

Minister Lis, in charge of privatization, also spoke on behalf of the government. His appearance in the corridors of the congress hall gave new strength to those in favor of workers holding shares in their enterprises and to the liberals. Both groups had prepared an attack on the government's conversion of the economic system, which has much in common with state control. But it has not been ordained that the congress would present its arguments in this dispute. The appropriate minister quite simply did not take the rostrum.

The last guest representing the government was Leszek Balcerowicz, who presented his arguments in abridged form, as if he were reluctant to convince his audience. He spoke in a way that condoned some populist views expressed from the floor.

It was obvious that the congress was not prepared to undertake a full-scale debate on the subject of the program. By accepting this form of dialogue with the government, the congress acknowledged the present lack of a viable alternative to the stabilization program. Yet despite this powerlessness in contacts with the government, the congress made a careful choice concerning the primary question of Solidarity's presence in workplaces—in other words Solidarity's role in joint management of enterprises.

Most of all, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk's suggestion of converting Solidarity into something like a workers' self-management body, which manages an enterprise, was rejected. In a vote, the delegates unanimously rejected what formed the nucleus of the 1981 program of the Self-Governing Republic, the first ideological decision to be taken by the second congress. For most of the delegates, that program was dictated by the struggle against totalitarian rule. The ideology of the old self-governing republic program collapsed during the debate on the subject of the market economy.

At the same time, the suggestion that Solidarity should be purely a pressure group was also rejected. The Polish economy and Polish capitalism are still too weak to be able to afford a situation where a powerful owner-employer is the Union's real partner. Introducing such a scenario today would be too dangerous a challenge for weak economic structures.

The delegates opted for the pragmatic scenario whereby the union is to defend the interests of workers by supporting their claims vis-a-vis employers who manage their plants efficiently. Employers are to be controlled by self-management bodies and workers councils, in which there will be room for Solidarity representatives. They will also enforce and accelerate changes. In this way, the congress created the prospects of a political debate.

The Union Is Not a Party, But It Does Have Political Interests

What is the political future of Solidarity? By reelecting Walesa with such conspicuous determination, the union expressed its support in his candidature for the presidency.

The speeches of Professor Geremek, on behalf of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, and Andrzej Wielowieyski, on behalf of the Solidarity portion of the Senate, revealed the ever widening differences between the political aspirations of the elites (who are trying to attribute to Solidarity a single, uniform historical identity) and the pragmatism of the ordinary Solidarity activists.

Both sides defended the formula of a civic movement, supposed to represent all Polish political interests.

The congress spoke out in favor of a concept whereby the union would nominate its own candidates in the earlier parliamentary elections, and would support not parties, but individual candidates nominated by other social and political organizations.

In this way, Solidarity cast a kind of *votum separatum* vis-a-vis the present balance of political forces in Poland. It extended its support for the present interim solutions until the spring of 1991, but there were voices pointing out that artificial dates are rarely accurate in politics.

The political content of the Second Congress was blurred by the unclear relationship between Solidarity and the Citizens Parliamentary Club.

Now and then, people appeared in the gallery who had determined Solidarity policy during the first 16 months of the Union's life. Advisers and experts without whom it seemed Solidarity would never manage are now members of parliamentary commissions and government agencies. Cornered in the corridors, they told stories about the difficult attempts to reform the country when the old power apparatus still existed.

It may come as a surprise, but at its congress Solidarity did not give the impression that it is assuming power in Poland. This power still seems to be cut off as if by a barricade. In its relations with the state administration, Solidarity is still encountering a wall of reluctance and incompetence.

The New Solidarity

Today, Solidarity's activists are thinking of Solidarity as an organization, and not as an amorphous social movement. They want an organization whose efficiency depends not only on the energy of its members, but also on the good functioning of its offices and secretariats, the accuracy of reports, and competence in implementing adopted resolutions.

The union is becoming more professional, but, wonder of wonders, it is also becoming more democratic.

The congress has closed an important decade: a period of mass opposition and resistance to the totalitarian state. But the victory over totalitarianism seems to belong to the past. Now it is time to make the effort to clarify the future.

The congress revealed the strength and weakness, identity, and divisions in Solidarity. A great anti-totalitarian movement has become an organization that not only defends the right of workers to lead a dignified life, but wishes to be jointly responsible for the development of the situation in Poland. It wants to be jointly responsible for the new social and economic order in Poland. It wants to be present on the political stage as an independent, but not monopolistic, force.

This time, however, Solidarity is precisely defining the price of its own joint responsibility for the development of the situation in Poland. That price is the union's participation in power, by means of a parliamentary representation of its interests.

The limits of this participation are not yet well-defined, but there is no doubt that Solidarity's likely support in the next parliamentary elections will be of decisive significance. Its support will be crucial to all those present on the makeshift political stage right now.

This strengthens the union's bargaining position and expands the potential scope of joint responsibility. This applies in an equal measure to Solidarity and Walesa himself.

Later there will be time for a calm assessment of the second congress. But there is one thing that is beyond discussion—the fact that Solidarity is way ahead of all the other social and political forces in Poland and that the greatest share of responsibility for Poland rests on the union.

Solidarity wants to build a modern state in such a way that there will be enough room in it for a strong trade union, political pluralism, and a professionally-run administration. Solidarity does not want to be everything at once and does not want to build the country on everyone's behalf. This self-limitation of political tasks and ambitions may be good for Poland.

10 May Sejm Session Proceedings Reported

Bill Seizing PZPR Assets Voted Down

LD1005190390 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT
10 May 90

[By Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—With 153 votes against 129, and 37 abstentions the Sejm (lower house of the parliament) resolved not to start today the second reading of the draft law regulating matters of taking over the property of the former Polish United Workers Party [PUWP/PZPR]. The Sejm decided to forward the draft, which was prepared by the deputies of the OKP Citizens' Parliamentary Club at the initiative of Deputy Jan Lopuszanski and discussed by the chamber for the first time several weeks ago, to the Sejm committees.

It is worth recalling that the draft was submitted following critical remarks by some deputies dissatisfied with the results of work of the government commission dealing with the issue of property of former political parties.

Controversies over the property of the former ruling party (or rather what has remained of it after the government commission's decisions) had led during one of the previous meetings of the Sejm to sharp polemics between deputies of various orientations, and even to divisions within the OKP group itself.

Deputy Adam Michnik appealed, for instance, for refraining from "Kicking the lying man". This met with violent objections of some "uncompromising" deputies of his own OKP club.

In today's brief exchange of opinions the deputies referred to the expectations of the impatient society (OKP) and, on the other hand, appealed for not mixing the desire to square political accounts with the work of the Sejm (PKLD [Club of the Democratic Left]—Democratic Left and PSI [Polish Peasant Party]—Peasants).

The SdRP Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland is the side most interested in preserving the status quo in property matters as, for the time being, it controls the assets left by the PUWP. The outcome of today's vote means that the SdRP, which does not negate its PUWP roots, will not be deprived of property in the next few weeks.

Environmental Protection Moves Passed

LD1005220590 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1730 GMT 10 May 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The first day of the Sejm's meeting has ended. Alexandra Jakubowska reports:

[Jakubowska] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. [passage omitted] The Sejm passed an amendment to the Environmental Protection Law and the Water Law. It

enables quick action to protect the environment, above all thanks to setting realistic charges and fines for poisoning and thanks to the freedom to set permissible indicators of noise, vibration, and pollution emission levels, which have rarely been lowered up to now. Bronislaw Kaminski, the minister of environmental protection, natural resources and forestry, announced that eight environmental laws totally changing the system of environmental protection would be sent to the Sejm before the end of the year. Twenty-seven regions of ecological danger, one third of Polish towns, have a water shortage. There is seven billion [currency not specified] in the account of the fund for environmental and water protection, while the program to remove the effects of the devastation to the environment and to protect it requires 200 billion zlotys for the next 20 years. That list, although it only contains a few details, admirably shows what extremely radical steps are necessary so as not only, which is most important, to protect man's life, but also so as to avoid further material losses, and they absorb one quarter of the national income.

In the lobbies the decision by Tadeusz Hupalowski, the chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK), to hand in his resignation was the source of much comment. [passage omitted on interview with Hupalowski] Tomorrow is the second day of the Sejm's meeting.

Military Service Laws Debated

LD1105070890 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT
10 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—At its meeting here today, the Sejm resolved to send to Sejm committees the deputies' bill on the takeover by the state treasury of the property of the former Polish United Workers' Party.

The Sejm resolved to accept a report of the justice committee on the report by the government commission for legal status of the property of political parties and youth organizations and ways of regaining state property.

Military Service

A heated debate on the government bill on the changes of some laws concerning military service lasted for more than two hours. Minister of the National Defence General Florian Siwicki said that the suggested solutions provide for the entire ban on party activities in the Army which is in line with the process of transformations in Poland.

The introduction of the principle of a political character of the Army is in tune with the draft text of the new military oath which will be submitted to the Sejm shortly. While defining the most important duties of servicemen, the draft oath is completely stripped of ideological elements.

Discussants clearly differed in their opinions. Deputy Jacek Szymanderski announced that the Citizens' Parliamentary Caucus would shortly put forth a bill which would guarantee the protection by the Sejm of the interests of soldiers.

Deputy Bohdan Kopczynski spoke of "enslavement and Russification" of the Polish Army by the party-political apparatus. He charged that the "honour" and "homeland" are just empty words.

Deputy Zenon Kulaga described Kopczynski's statement as demagoguery which serves neither the Army nor the nation, while Krzysztof Grzebyk termed it "the venom of hatred" which must be replaced by a matter-of-fact discussion.

While referring to some of the statements, Minister Siwicki said that some of them were offending and only partly true. He added that it is necessary to seek such solutions which would guarantee proper strength of the Army and its good service for the whole structure of the state.

The Sejm dismissed the motion of Jacek Szymanderski to return the bill to the government for redrafting. The bill was sent to Sejm committees.

Environmental Protection

Amendments to the law on natural environment and to the water law were another item in the agenda. The main goal of the amendments is to eliminate legal barriers which made it impossible to take efficient measures for the protection of natural environment. The deputies said that the idea of so called protection zones around industrial installations were an illusory remedy to the arduousness caused by the industry.

The Sejm adopted a resolution on the rational uses of natural mineral resources. The resolution obligates the government to move by June 15 a new legal regulation defining the powers of the minister for the protection of natural environment, natural resources and forestry as responsible for the management of [word indistinct].

Government's Performance, Future Viewed

PM1005114490 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
24 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Jacek Syski article: "The Turning Point: Democracy Adrift?"]

[Text] 1. Is the honeymoon over? "We understand everyone." How many today still remember this Solidarity election poster, and how many still believe it after 6 months of a government underwritten by Solidarity and a parliament dominated by Solidarity? Judging solely from public statements, the rural community, for one, has no more illusions. Nor have the crafts and the small businesses. According to various industrial, professional (economists), and opinion-making circles, there is a growing anxiety among hired employees and

workers. Almost everywhere the public mood is deteriorating and there is a growing concern about the future.

Of course, there is still the general, bracing tone of the information and propaganda departments. Also, there is still the parliamentary support, despite the grumbings, reservations, and threats made behind the scenes. Two months after the introduction of Balcerowicz's draconian "stabilization program"—with the economy almost at a standstill (especially in the market sectors), with the significantly exceeded government targets for the cost of the operation, and in the face of the already dramatic recession spreading throughout the economy—the Sejm has, to all intents and purposes, approved the government's economic position, which is most succinctly expressed in the motto: "No adjustments; hold the present course!" and the belief that the period ahead will force an appropriate correction of the operations of economic entities in accordance with the program.

Even those who, for one reason or another, did not share this belief (not only in the government coalition camp but even in the Solidarity camp itself)—and they were in the majority, a fact which is evident and not at all hard to understand—restricted themselves in effect to semi-private warnings, reservations, or admonitions and refrained in essence from any fundamental, substantive criticism as well as from the forms of such criticism reserved for the parliamentary forum, for instance.

We can see how much this parliament lacks an opposition, how much it is beginning to suffer from ossification and the sense of mystique imparted to it by the massive domination of the new mono-force, which is not in fact monolithic in nature, but whose position makes it impossible under present circumstances to articulate clearly the various positions, views, and interests, thereby changing all program differences and substantive options into personal games and factional interplay. This situation prevails equally within today's leading sociopolitical force (the role in which Solidarity has replaced the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]), as well as within the parties which are (already) its satellites and, finally, within the coalition-opposition hybrid represented by the parliamentary camp of the former PZPR, now transformed into the factions and cliques of the so-called Parliamentary Floor Group of the Democratic Left [PKLD], which is surely still held together only by a fear of political (parliamentary) annihilation and by the degree of readiness to surrender their own political identity, as long as they prolong the period of their parliamentary quasi-existence which for the majority of their deputies can only last only until the next elections, as we well know.

2. Today nearly everyone in Poland argues about (privately) or fears for (publicly) the future of the so-called Balcerowicz program. Everyone wishes it well (publicly). Most likely, the majority of experts do not believe (privately) in its success, but even those who do not believe in it and who want the government to fail—which would afford them a peculiar *schadenfreude*—

often agree with the argument that "essentially there is no alternative to this program, just as there is no alternative to the Mazowiecki government." Consequently, they concede that in fact the Balcerowicz program is not an economic but a political program, involving the issue of public trust in the government and the forces which underwrite this government, and that therefore it should not be questioned in its economic aspect either, since that would in fact constitute an expression of political denial and undermine the new authorities and the new democracy, as well as their government—and, after all, who could succeed the latter now?

To tell the truth, I regard this kind of argument as political schizophrenia (if you will pardon the expression) carried over, lock, stock, and barrel, from the former order when, for example, the authorities deluded the public—and finally came to believe themselves—that there really was only one leading force in the state capable of responsible rule and that its defeat would be tantamount to an earthquake or a similar major disaster.

Obviously, the consequences of the Balcerowicz program (and not just the consequences of its success or failure) do have, and will continue to have, a political aspect, but we will not achieve anything whatsoever by washing our hands of it and making faces about it on the side. The government program has essentially been approved by parliament. Its potential failure would in fact entail not just the need to change the government merely within the existing parliamentary arrangement, as Walesa and our eminent colleagues on TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC have impudently suggested; it would in effect entail the need to call new parliamentary elections, form a new team to represent the public's interests, bring out new political forces, and crystallize new programs. This is because the present configuration of forces in parliament merely reflects the sociopolitical conditions at the time of the conclusion of the preelection agreement, which no longer exists. A potential defeat of or fiasco by the government program approved and undersigned by this parliament could not amount to merely a defeat for the government, as some people suggest. It would be a verdict against this entire parliament and its political future.

And here indeed is a political time bomb placed under today's parliament and ticking away as a relentless reminder to every force and camp represented there, and not just—as some seem to think—to the heirs and successors of the former leading force, who in any case are doing their utmost to deny their past...

The composition of the present parliament, which literally decides the fate of future generations, does not even reflect the forces, trends, orientations, or interests which really coexist in Polish society in 1990 AD. It is merely an expression of a certain emotional reaction experienced by the general public in early June last year. In a nutshell, it illustrates a negative reaction to the era of "real socialism" and the force identified with that era.

But this force has already disappeared from our life; almost a whole era has passed since this time last year, and now it is no longer enough to be a good anticommunist, to believe that you express the true interests, aspirations, and strivings of the public (that is, the electorate). Meanwhile the parliament that exists today is paradoxically, first and foremost, a political posthumous child of that totalitarian era, not least in its inverted fascination with it, its obsession with seeking traces and vestiges of it everywhere and anywhere, and its passionate dedication to the obliteration of the latter, which it sees as its primary task, after which it is left with very little time for its other duties. It is host to a great many—probably too many—people who ended up here solely because of services rendered to the opposition or their notoriously uncompromising anticommunist attitudes, but who do not quite know what they are supposed to do under the new conditions when there is, in effect, no longer anyone to fight against.

3. At this point another paradox of our public—and not just strictly political or parliamentary—life is highlighted: a phenomenon which I would call the growing and increasingly evident need for an enemy. In the face of the political changes—as well as the primarily economic changes—initiated by the new government, the Solidarity movement itself is undergoing an erosion, as is its associated baggage of Solidarity mythology (we will return to this later). Solidarity's public base, as well as the public base of the ruling Solidarity camp, is also undergoing an erosion and will continue to do so increasingly. The rate of these processes will accelerate even further as soon as the long-term economic, social, and political consequences of the socioeconomic, as well as political, alternative that the Balcerowicz plan in fact constitutes, become evident in our life, irrespective of the disturbances which can be envisaged here. To put it in a nutshell, it is the market economy alternative of the most ruthless and uncontrolled variety—an alternative which, irrespective of its expected long-term positive economic consequences (assuming that they do materialize), will leave a deep mark on the lives of most Polish families today and tomorrow: a mark of hardship and poverty on those who until recently remained in the "average" category and a mark of destitution on those who until recently lived in poverty. This is the shameful and carefully concealed truth about the future, at least for the next few years—or, according to many specialists, for at least the next 10 to 15 years. Frankly, it is not an enticing or attractive future, whether you consider it from a political, social, or electoral viewpoint...

Given this sociopolitical and psychological situation, an almost inevitable requirement for an "enemy" has appeared among certain circles belonging to the "new order." Such an enemy could be taken to task, fought, and opposed; his schemings, threats, and machinations could be unmasked, deplored, and condemned; finally, in the face of such an enemy, loud appeals for unity, unanimity, and sacrifices could be made.

The trouble is that today no one wants to play the role of an enemy or opponent, either objectively or subjectively. Certainly no one on the outside wants to do so. You can have riots around Lenin monuments, but it is quite difficult to unite the public or the nation against Gorbachev as an enemy or opponent. You can summon up the specter of the German threat, but you do not make political capital out of your lender or creditor...

So what is left? Not much. The PZPR? Indeed, for a few months we could say that the anti-PZPR syndrome was the strongest, indeed the main, ideological motivation for certain circles within the new ruling camp—a motivation that was supposed to keep the ranks closed and to unite all supporters.

This was so despite the fact that the party did not at all want to play the role of the enemy of the people, and both the course and the strategy of the roundtable debate were, from its viewpoint, clearly based on the assumption of collaboration with the former opposition—an assumption accepted by the opposition itself. Later, both before and after the elections, the Solidarity camp rejected this assumption, which meant a political defeat for the PZPR—a defeat made even more painful by the fact that those who maintain that in the last instance the former opposition owes its present power to the Communists are, of course, right.

This is because the militant myth disseminated in Solidarity circles, claiming that the former opposition gained power all by itself, is not true, just as it is patently untrue that the change in the communist party's position was motivated by charitable sentiments or the injunction to love thy neighbor. It is a fact that for Solidarity the road to government in Poland was opened up by Gorbachev's rule in the USSR and by the depth of the economic crisis at home, which led to the PZPR's political paralysis. That was the fundamental stimulus behind the party's new strategy: the initiation of the roundtable procedure in 1989—a procedure which, as we all know, culminated in the anticommunist plebiscite for the electorate, a plebiscite perhaps not so much in Solidarity's favor as against the party and its government...

But the PZPR is no more. Will its corpse be enough to play the role of the anti-hero against whom our ranks unite, if only for the lack of better symbols, or perhaps for the lack of genuine values and programs? Our public life and propaganda show that you can, after all, feed off a carcass quite successfully. The PZPR is no more, but you can devote your energies to the "question" of the former PZPR's assets. The PZPR is no more, but you can devote your time to the "question of color changes:" who has really broken with it and to what extent, and who is only pretending. The PZPR is no more, but you can devote your attention to the specters of totalitarianism, Stalinism, the nomenklatura, and every conceivable political and ideological cardinal sin of the past, if only for the sake of devoting your time, attention, and energies to anything at all, lest it suddenly transpire that

we are not doing what is expected of us—such as paying attention to the questions which people are most concerned or worried about.

So, although no one is anxious to play the role of enemy and although we receive more than enough signs of reconciliation, not to say servility, from the opposing camp, the enemy myth is being kept in reserve for one more reason. If it becomes obvious that the public can no longer bear the burden of sacrifice, the ready-made scapegoat is conveniently at hand.

4. Poland now finds itself at a crossroads. Literally so. We are in a transition period during which, as likely as not, all kinds of conclusive decisions about the country's future political and social model and about the economic future of the generations to come are being made. That is the context and the point of reference for current government decisions and the programs for economic transformation now in preparation. The trouble is that, for the most part, these programs are virtually unknown to the general public, as are the risks involved, the consequences, and the costs. The problem lies also in the fact that, generally speaking, they go in an altogether different direction from those stipulated by the social, self-government, and social democratic options proposed by the former opposition and expressed in its preselection programs and slogans. Briefly, neither the actual government program being implemented now nor its proposed future development trends (the so-called privatization program) have been underwritten by general public knowledge and approval of their principles and implications. To make it even worse, the program actually goes completely against the earlier ideals and demands (socialization of the state; a self-governing republic) and even now we can already clearly discern in it the mark of the philosophy of etatism. This is an open secret which everyone knows but which no one will mention in public—neither in parliament nor in the so-called information media. Why?

We could attempt a psychoanalytical interpretation of this political phenomenon, but let us keep to the simplest explanations. I think that, first, it is not in the interest of any force or group active in current parliamentary life, or at least it is contrary to their own understanding of their interests. Certainly you can discern here a fear, inherited from the past, of the general public and the possibility of a "flash point situation." I think that the slogan: "This government or the deluge" (that is, a wholesale disaster) has been embraced not only by the government itself but also by the majority of parliamentary deputies. Consequently, they give the Balcerowicz program their full approval (in reality) or lend it their qualified acceptance (in public) in order to "avoid the greater evil." What greater evil? It is implied that it would involve anarchy, chaos, an explosion of populist sentiments, a wave of demands, and so on, and so forth. Therefore, to avoid this "catastrophic alternative," the practice of parliamentary criticism, parliamentary control, or the demand for alternative solutions have been virtually abandoned; the government's actions are given an almost mythical

significance and thus are exempted from any corrections. The "all or nothing" attitude prevails, and by this maneuver the whole question is removed from the sphere of pragmatic and "technical" assessments of the actions of a democratic government as approached everywhere else in the world and transposed into an ideological sphere of "trust, confidence, support, and identification," which is all too familiar in totalitarian systems and which we ourselves practiced in Poland for so many years.

In a genuine democratic system the question of support for the government involves a balance of arguments and interests and the eventual compromise between them. With us, it is again (and in fact traditionally, albeit under different mottoes) a question of belief and confidence (in something which we do not even know from our own experience), a question of an almost amorous, emotional attitude to the government (and premier). This is actively demonstrated and fervently promoted among the public by a new class: a peculiarly Polish invention which offers particularly vigorous support to the government—namely, the class of film and television actors.

Until and unless this state of affairs changes, we stand no chance of ever emerging from the kindergarten of democracy and we are doomed to succumb to all its ailments without the benefit of its strength.

5. So the drama of the nascent democracy in Poland consists, among other things, in the fact that so far it has failed to demonstrate—either in the parliamentary forum or outside it—any signs of either true determination or ability to present an alternative plan for the future of Poland and its socioeconomic development. This must surely be the best proof of how thoroughly the era of real socialism impoverished the reserves of energy, imagination, and public responsibility in this country—regardless of all the invocations, slogans, and mottoes under which people now congregate...

There are people who even now accept bets on the government's future in connection with the Balcerowicz plan, where the only area of contention is the date of the eventual creation of a new team recruited from the ranks of the present coalition. As we know, preparatory propaganda for this expected development was activated quite a while ago. However, I believe that these calculations are both oversimplified and basically incorrect, even if the underlying prognosis of a critical collapse of the government policy were to prove correct—which, in any case, is quite likely.

Why? Because, as a matter of fact, such a change would in reality only signify a deepening of the crisis of public participation which has already begun in Poland's public and parliamentary life. Consequently, I believe that the only solution to this crisis (unless it is countered and successfully overcome earlier, and there is still time for this) could be provided by new parliamentary elections, in which entirely new political constellations would

emerge (although this is purely my own personal prognosis, entertained at my own risk) and after which no more than some 10-15 percent of the present deputies would move on to the future parliament. This is because the present parliament is being "eroded" in parallel with the government whose program it accepted, whether moved by a genuine "heart's desire," or common opportunism.

6. So do we face the prospect of a major political disaster or earthquake? I do not think so. First, the government still retains its capability for maneuver and still enjoys popular approval (although, admittedly, this is more verbal and sentimental than factual.) Personally, I also think that an adjustment of the economic policy accompanied, perhaps, by a cabinet reshuffle to be effected by Premier Mazowiecki would now be the best of all possible political solutions.

When I suggest a cabinet reshuffle, I do not at all insist on removing Deputy Premier Balcerowicz from its composition. I have in mind, for example, the heads of major economic sectors who have been unable or unwilling to draw up at least the basic guidelines for a new industrial, scientific, agrarian, and economic policy that could be submitted for the government's consideration and, by mapping out its campaign strategy and areas of responsibility in the interim period, would naturally moderate the extremes of the currency stabilization program and make it possible to avoid the avoidable costs of the operation. But, first and foremost, they would build the mechanisms for economic progress and prepare the plan to surmount the recession. Nothing along these lines has been done to date, and the government only hopes that "it will somehow turn out all right" after inflation is successfully stifled.

However, regardless of what is to come—and what comes will quite likely be something entirely different from the aforementioned possibility—the future of democracy and, by the same token, the future of the country will depend on whether, and if so, when, the present atrophy and paralysis of political and parliamentary life in Poland finally comes to an end. That is, whether a normal development of proper forms of public and political life characteristic of democratic societies does finally take place or whether, on the contrary, the present structure—dominated by a single (Solidarity) camp and surrounded by mystique, with a firm crystallization of the differences of opinions, interests, options, and stances—becomes even more consolidated and alienated from the conditions experienced by society, or even evolves directly toward authoritarian solutions. Today both these possibilities are equally real.

The disintegration of Solidarity as a social movement, trade union, exponent of a particular ethos, or, finally, a certain myth which, when transposed into normal conditions of everyday reality and practical government issues, becomes progressively eroded—though perhaps not everybody realizes it yet—complicates the situation even further. As I was recently, and aptly, told by one of

its activists, Solidarity today represents mostly a myth which is exploited by a number of different circles, groups, and persons; a myth which is used by various groups more as a stepping-stone to reach ever higher positions in public and political life than as a rational social or political movement through which they articulate their arguments and interests—a movement which has a verifiable program, is easily identified, and is ready to account to the general public for its own actions, which are no longer undertaken in opposition to the former or current enemy but are addressed to the general public as a program which the latter can either accept or criticize.

Of course, it is hard to make forecasts here. There are too many major political personalities in the Solidarity camp, and the Solidarity myth is still so alive in many circles that it still seems—at least potentially—to attract the most vigorous and socially and politically active forces and to command the strength necessary for a rational political revival.

However, I personally believe that Solidarity's time is beginning to recede into the past. I will not argue about whether it will take a year or a couple of years. But I maintain that those who want to build a future on the foundations of the past and to use the myth as a screen with which to distance themselves from real life problems are committing a historical mistake, just as are those who are afraid to stand up and face society on their own two feet and in their own name, but claim they are acting in society's interests. This holds true at least insofar as we intend to give democracy a chance in this country—and there is no real reason why Poland should continue to be an underprivileged country in this respect. I think that the actors who are to appear on the future political stage should also be seen in the present extraparlimentary opposition if they want to take part in the democratic process and assume constitutional responsibility for its development.

7. The first signal and testing ground could be provided by the approaching local government elections. Whereas they were all too obviously designed as an "escape forward" and a gesture meant to sweeten the bitter pill of the shortcomings of everyday life suffered by society (and promoted even more obviously by certain circles associated with Solidarity in an attempt to establish its own new nomenklatura throughout the country), they may yet prove to be a difficult test for Solidarity that could conceivably bring its dreamers down to earth with a bang.

Of course this depends largely on whether other forces make themselves apparent already in these elections—and if so, to what an extent—beside those present in the current parliamentary interplay. How far will they want to reveal themselves, and how far will they be allowed to do so (note the electoral law, whose majority rule is surely a misunderstanding in light of the earlier declarations about a "self-governing and democratic Republic...")?

Personally, I believe that such a lesson in coming down to earth would be a very salutary experience for the ruling camp, within whose ranks we can increasingly observe signs of a certain attachment to power, as well as the first manifestations of the type of arrogance associated with power. I think that we should not promise ourselves (or, rather, the chances of democracy in Poland) too much, judging from the forces already present in parliament. Perhaps the so-called populist camp will be able to demonstrate its own identity and credibility in the field, at the lowest rung in the electoral campaign? It would be difficult to believe this of the Democratic Party, that is, the so-called left-wing orientation which emerged to fill the gap left after the PZPR's demise. Its lack of a definite and specific political image and the fear of a possible annihilation in yet another confrontation with the electorate seem to mark out the main features of its political portrait.

On the other hand, the Solidarity camp clearly intends to duplicate the electoral variant of last June in the present elections. This would deal a lethal blow to democracy, since it would also duplicate at the lowest level the same myths, mystifications, set ways of thinking, aspirations, and failures of the new nomenklatura which have already become apparent at the parliamentary level. This is obvious from the campaign to force through the so-called "majority electoral law" which in its local version is not only undemocratic but clearly absurd. It would be an unhappy development all around—and most unhappy for Solidarity itself—if it managed to fall into its own trap here. The challenge of building democracy requires that we create real pluralism and stimulate the spirit of cooperation—first of all, in local communities, where at the best of times it is not easy to find reliable, competent people ready to devote themselves to public service (and not to the attractions of power-wielding, as advocated by some pathetic propagandists of pseudo-democracy.)

8. Let me make myself clear. The inspiration for this text came from an acceptance of a certain philosophy of government expressed in the spirit of dialogue and the program of expanding the social basis of power, both of these ideas are to be found in the declarations of the new government. This philosophy is overlooked by many superficial critics and by those who make jibes at Premier Mazowiecki's "Christian charity," interpreting it as a personal weakness or as a weak point of his rule. In fact, exactly the opposite is true, even regardless of ideological arguments. Many activists and propagandists of the new ruling power seem to miss the point that the aggressive fighting spirit, the spirit of retribution, retaliation, and revenge is not the best foundation on which to exercise power in a society which is already deeply divided and will doubtless continue with the divisions to the limits of endurance or even beyond them.

I am not sure whether we really should support the government—and if so, whether there really is no other way except to offer it our ardent expressions of amorous

passion. But the best course to take is surely to avoid misleading the government and to stick to calling a spade a spade...

P.S. The union chairman and his people have indicated that, if it comes to the worst, there will always be the possibility of forming a new team recruited from their own ranks, or perhaps even letting the chairman himself stand at the helm. As regards the option of a new (Solidarity) team after Mazowiecki's putative defeat, we have commented on it already: This parliament will fall, in society's eyes, along with the government. And the chairman himself? Well... the words may be fine, but the facts are less encouraging:

- the chaos, disorder, and confusion—not to say progressive disintegration—of the Solidarity trade union, which can boast neither democracy nor good order;
- the ongoing misunderstandings and arguments, and the lack of consistent policy toward the so-called Citizens' Committees or in conjunction with them;
- the colossal fiasco and embarrassment of the scheme to sell the Gdansk Shipyard to Mrs. Piasecka-Johnson, which only narrowly avoided turning into a major scandal, thanks to the generous financial assistance offered by the government on the taxpayer's behalf;
- and, last but not least, probably the greatest faux pas of the current political season worldwide: the demand for a withdrawal of the Soviet forces stationed in Poland, made to the Soviet ambassador on the eve of German unification and in the face of the fact that one of the sides involved still refuses to clearly confirm the validity of the present borders. Let us add that the forces in question clearly no longer play a political role but serve as a logistical backup to the units stationed in the GDR. Really, is this not too much from a single "man of destiny" in just one short season?

In view of the foregoing, would it not be better for democracy in Poland to rely on its own strength alone while, naturally, continuing to pay due homage to its grand heroes?

SdRP's Kwasniewski on Local, National Elections

AU1105091990 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish
5-6 May 90 p 2

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland's Main Council, by Dariusz Szymczycha; place and date not given: "We Will Not Be Noisy Populists"]

[Excerpts] [Szymczycha] The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland's [SdRP] first 99 days are over. Do you have more gray hairs now?

[Kwasniewski] A few more. However, I have definitely made more acquaintances and friends during those 99 days of addressing people all over the country.

[Szymczycha] The party has more sympathizers and friends, but does it have more members?

[Kwasniewski] On 29 January we started out with a group of one thousand members, the party's founders. The party has acquired a membership of more than 50,000 since then. Is that a lot or a few? It certainly is a lot, bearing in mind the pressure that people who identify with left-wing values are being subjected to. However, it is a few compared to the needs of Polish democracy, which cannot be pluralist without the SdRP.

I hope that the 1 May celebrations marked a turning-point. Thousands of people turned up because they need a sense of a common bond, subscribe to the same values, and have similar fears. For me, it was a demonstration of the feeling of community that exists among people on the left, regardless of their formal political affiliations. The smoke bombs that were thrown at our feet strengthened that bond. [passage omitted]

[Szymczycha] What should replace the political contract and the reforms that were written down at the "round-table"?

[Kwasniewski] Consistency in creating a genuine democracy and modern state structures. First, we need parliamentary elections that will be held in accordance with the principle of proportional representation. I know that this is risky for the SdRP, but I also know that it is essential for democratic change in Poland. A new parliament should adopt a new Constitution that would, among other things, define the position and powers of the president. Finally, we should have presidential elections based on universal, direct voting. That should be the finale in the creation of democratic structures, but it should not be the end of learning democracy. That will take much longer.

[Szymczycha] Do you not think that the SdRP would lose the parliamentary elections that the party itself is proposing?

[Kwasniewski] If the elections are held in accordance with the principle of proportional representation, then we stand a chance of getting a certain number of seats on the left side of the Sejm. We will fight for votes, although we are not counting on a rapid and spectacular electoral success.

Fortunately, I and many of my colleagues are still at an age where we will see better days for the left during our lifetime.

[Szymczycha] The local elections are also going to be tough. A young party without that many members, embroiled in the problems surrounding the legacy of the Polish United Workers Party, faces a real danger of defeat. Is it worth beginning political activity with a bad start?

[Kwasniewski] There was no problem about whether we should take part in the local elections or not. Not taking part in the elections would mean that we do not exist. We

have to signal to people, not only in Warsaw, but also in the provinces, that the left has not gone into hiding.

Our sense of responsibility for the development of democracy in Poland instructs us to field candidates for the sake of pluralism and to give citizens an opportunity to participate in genuine elections instead of another plebiscite. [passage omitted]

Education Minister Meets Striking Students

LD1005215890 Warsaw PAP in English 1723 GMT
10 May 90

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—A meeting between Minister of National Education Henryk Samsonowicz and representatives of striking students held here today ended in a compromise, although the students still demanded that a draft law on higher education worked out in the Sejm (lower house) should be withdrawn. A joint document containing postulates of the students was agreed upon. The document was filed with the parliament.

The most controversial issue is the composition of high school body of electors proposed by the government. It was agreed that independent scientific workers should have the 50-percent participation in the body guaranteed, other scientific workers—20 to 25 percent, students—20 to 25 percent, and other workers—5 to 10 percent.

Meanwhile, students of the universities of Lublin (eastern Poland), Krakow, Katowice (both southern Poland), Rzeszow (south-eastern Poland) and Wroclaw (south-western Poland) joined in a sit-in strike started on May 8 at the Planning and Statistics Higher School and the Agriculture Academy of Warsaw, and at the Technical University of Gdansk.

Protest rallies were held, among other places, in Lodz (central Poland) and Krakow.

Newspapers' Ownership Plans Outlined

AU1105090790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 5-6 May 90

[Tomasz Roguski report: "Every Man For Himself"]

[Text] The breakup of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House [RSW] is underway all over the country. The fate of the papers published by the Warsaw "Trybuna Ludu" Publishing House is in the balance. It publishes six titles in addition to the daily TRYBUNA. Its losses in 1989 came to 9.293 million zlotys [Z]. Its losses during the first three months of this year came to a further Z6 billion. Back in February of this year, the RSW Main Board decided to close it down and replace it with the "Editor-90" publishing house, which, in addition to the current titles, would also publish PRZEGLAD SPOLECZNY, which is to be edited by Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Employees were given notice that their employment would be terminated on 30 April of this year.

The government commission rescinded the RSW Main Board resolution setting up the "Editor-90" publishing house. The "Trybuna Ludu" publishing house and the titles that it publishes should have ceased to operate last Monday. The Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland announced that it wished to buy two titles: TRYBUNA and ZYCIE ZYRARDOWA. However, to date nothing has come of the proposed transaction. None of us were in a position to provide more information about the future of these publications on Wednesday [2 May]. TRYBUNA is at present continuing to appear.

The situation with regard to ZYCIE WARSZAWY is just as complicated. In addition to the joint stock company headed by Artur Howzan, the editor in chief, there is also an employee partnership and cooperative. The editorial board is very much divided and the confusion is compounded by the fact that some employees have announced that they are also involved in various other ventures connected with taking over publication of the paper. It is estimated that the value of the paper is somewhat in excess of Z2 billion.

It would appear that Artur Howzan's company is the only one that stands a chance of raising some money for modernization and maintaining the paper's standards, but it is very unlikely that it will receive the paper. Journalists expect the paper's future to depend on political decisions.

EXPRESS WIECZORNY is not experiencing similar problems. Its editor in chief, Ryszard Lukasiewicz, was recalled by the liquidation commission on 20 April. He was replaced by Andrzej Bunn, who had previously been proposed for the post by the paper's editorial board. About 90 percent of the journalists have announced that they are forming a cooperative, and they stand the greatest chance of being able to take over the paper. J.J. Lipski's Polish Socialist Party had earlier announced that it wished to recover the paper, which belonged to the Polish Socialist Party in the 1940's, but the liquidation commission has no such proposal.

In Lodz, the EXPRESS ILUSTROWANY editorial board is waiting for a court decision, due any day now, on the registration of an employee cooperative, which is seeking to take over the paper. The cooperative council and board, which have already been elected, do not include anyone involved in running the editorial board thus far. Similar proposals are also being finalized at the DZIENNIK LODZKI and the GLOS ROBOTNICZY. More than 70 percent of employees at the Lodz Printing Works have expressed a wish to form a cooperative and so have all the employees of the Lodz division of the

National Publishing Agency. The performance of both the printing works and the newspapers has been good this year.

Decisions are still to be made about the future of the RSW publications that appear in Upper Silesia. The staff of the largest one of them, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, is acrimoniously divided. Some of the journalists have decided to form an employee cooperative. However, the question of how it is to be formed and registered remains open. The liquidation commission has recalled the editor in chief, Stanislaw Wojtek, who received a vote of no confidence from the paper's journalists. Journalists at the Katowice evening paper WIECZOR established a limited liability company with employee capital amounting to Z18 million back in February. Currently, the company is seeking advertising, but its aim is to buy the paper. Two Western firms that are ready to invest money in the paper have also been found. Lately, however, some journalists have begun to favor the idea of a cooperative. The further fate of WIECZOR will be decided by the liquidation commission.

Newspaper staffs are also looking for political sponsors and not just for money. In Katowice, consideration is being given to the possibility of making the TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA (until recently a Polish United Workers Party publication) a publication that is close to the Union of Citizens Committees. The Silesia-Dabrowa region "Solidarity" chapter may become involved in publishing the DZIENNIK ZACHODNI.

ECHO KRAKOWA has started holding talks with the Krakow Industrial Society, and DZIENNIK POLSKI, which is published in the same city, is holding talks with banking institutions.

In Gdansk, the main subject of talks between the main board of the local branch of the Polish Association of Journalists and liquidation commission member Donald Tusk has been the question of "Press House," the headquarters of the Gdansk Publishing House. As part of the press lacks permanent premises (including the new independent daily GAZETA GDANSKA), office space in the building, which was specially built for the needs of the press, is being leased out. This gives rise to the danger that its special facilities (teleprinters, fax machines) will be divided up among former RSW papers that have claims on them. The alternative would be to turn "Press House" into a state enterprise that would lease office space and provide services to newspaper staff on a commercial basis.

The decision to break up the RSW was made several weeks ago. Things are moving along at a snail's pace. Journalists do not know what will happen to their newspapers or if and when they will lose their jobs. They are trying to find solutions according to the principle: "Every man for himself."

Polish, Soviet Generals Discuss Troop Stationing

*LD1005203190 Zielona Gora Domestic Service
in Polish 1400 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Today in Zagan, Voivoda Zbyszko Piwonski, Major General Mieczyslaw Debicki, and Lieutenant General Viktor Dubynin, head of the Northern Group of Soviet Armed Forces, talked about the issues connected with the stationing of Soviet troops in Zielona Gora voivodship.

Among other things, issues connected with the stationing of forces near Stara Kopernia and Szprotawa were discussed.

PAP Agreement With Lithuanian Press Agency

*LD1105070190 Warsaw International Service
in Polish 1900 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Yesterday in Warsaw an agreement on cooperation between the POLISH PRESS AGENCY (PAP) and the LITHUANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY (ELTA) was signed. It anticipates cooperation in the exchange of information, journalists, and special bulletins. Robertas Grikevicius, the Lithuanian Agency's director, also met Henryk Wozniakowski, the deputy government press spokesman, who familiarized him with the work of the government's press office.

U.S. Ambassador Recalled for Consultations

AU1105121690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1110 GMT 11 May 90

["Diplomatic Activities: U.S. Ambassador Recalled for Consultations"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/5/1990—A press release of the U.S. Embassy shows:

The secretary of state has asked the U.S. ambassador to Romania, Alan Green, Jr., to return to Washington this week for consultations regarding the May 20 elections in that country, the first multi-party elections there in over 40 years. This decision has been taken in the light of reports of irregularities in the Romanian electoral process which raise questions about whether those elections will be free and fair. Ambassador Green will return to his post before the May 20 balloting.

Among the electoral problems which concern the U.S. is the incidence of organized acts of intimidation and harassment directed against and candidates [as received]. The interim Romanian Government to take more vigorous steps to maintain order and to protect the rights of all candidates in these elections. The U.S. is also concerned about complaints that several major parties still encounter obstacles in obtaining their fair share of broadcast time on the publicly controlled radio and television and in distributing their campaign literature through the mails, as well as problems with distributing independent newspapers.

The U.S. has repeatedly stated that free and fair elections on May 20, with a truly secret ballot, are crucial to the further progress of democratization in Romania and to the future of the bilateral relations between our two countries. The U.S. calls upon all Romanians to conduct themselves as befit the citizens of an emerging democracy and, especially, to vote on May 20. They now have the power and the responsibility to choose who will lead them in the years to come.

PNUC Communique on Talks With Demonstrators

AU1005210990 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1950 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Here is a report received by our Editorial Board a few minutes ago. Statement on the planned dialogue between the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] president and the representatives of the University Square demonstrators:

In accordance with the readiness for dialogue expressed in the communique released on 8 May 1990, the representatives of the demonstrators from the University Square told Mr. Ion Caramitru that they wanted to meet with PNUC President Mr. Ion Iliescu today, 10 May 1990, at 1000. We recall that Messrs. Alexandru Neancu, Cornel Saroiu, Marian Munteanu, (Zoltan Feres), and Lucian Mihai announced their participation in the first

meeting scheduled for 8 May. This time, the composition of the announced delegation was totally different: Gabriel Andreescu, Ana Blandiana or Constantin Dumitrescu, Florin Gabriel Marculescu, Dorel (Mitic), Marian Munteanu, Vasile Popovici, (George Salbatic), and Stelian Tanase.

Concerning the technical conditions, the demonstrators requested, and the PNUC president accepted, that only the meeting's minutes be recorded and signed by the participants. In view of the fact that the request for the 10 May meeting has come very late—as the PNUC president's schedule for that day could not be changed at such short notice and a PNUC session is scheduled for 11 May—it has been suggested that the dialogue take place on 12 May at 1000. This proposal was communicated by Mr. Ion Caramitru to the representatives of the demonstrators. It has also been suggested that if the representatives insist on having their dialogue on 10 May, they can meet with a PNUC delegation led by PNUC Vice President Ion Minzatu. The demonstrators rejected this suggestion and told Mr. Ion Caramitru that they agreed to a dialogue on 12 May at 1000 in the parliament building. It is on this basis that the PNUC president's communique released in the evening of 9 May was drafted.

However, today, 10 May, two different communiqués have been received from the University Square demonstrators. These documents are totally different. Thus, at 1515, ROMPRES released the first communique, signed by the "21 December" Association of Bucharest, the League of Students, and the Independent Group for Democracy, which clearly states that the planned dialogue did not take place and that their organizations had not been contacted at all in order to schedule another meeting. They also expressed surprise at the PNUC spokesman's communique broadcast by the television on 9 May 1990 regarding a decision taken to conduct the dialogue on 12 May 1990. This time, to the astonishment of the PNUC leadership, only a few minutes after the release of the first communique, a second communique was received—this time signed by the Steering Group of the National Alliance of the Timisoara Declaration—which confirms the talks conducted with Mr. Ion Caramitru and lists the composition of the delegation, which includes both Ana Blandiana and Constantin Dumitrescu, as spokesmen, and cameraman Eugen Popescu. The latter communique demands that the dialogue with Mr. Ion Iliescu and the representatives of the government take place on 12 May, at 1900, in the conference room of Bucharest Hotel; the communique also requests that the dialogue be broadcast live on television, after which both delegations should participate in a joint news conference.

It is more than obvious that all these waverings are but unsuccessful attempts by various groups to become the true representatives of the demonstrators in the center of Bucharest, who, in their turn, are going through an identity crisis of their own in their frantic search for a leadership. However, we are not surprised that the only

consensus among the demonstrators and their tutors refers to the need to maximally exploit the publicity value of the preparations for the dialogue with the representatives of the supreme body, regardless of how provisional it may be, at the finish of this electoral campaign.

In spite of all this, the PNUC president emphasizes that he is still ready to conduct a dialogue, under the conditions already agreed upon and publicly announced on 9 May 1990.

Timisoara Alliance Wants To Meet Iliescu

*AU1005212290 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1900 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] The Steering Group of the National Alliance of the Timisoara Declaration [NATD], through spokesman Mr. Constantin Dumitrescu, sent the following communique to ROMPRES:

On 9 May, the Alliance's Steering Group released a communique broadcast by Romanian Television in which it suggested that the dialogue with Mr. Ion Iliescu, Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] president, should take place on 10 May—that is, one day before the PNUC session. Since no answer was received to this proposal, the Alliance's Steering Group informs the public about the following points:

1. Although it was agreed that the dialogue should be conducted with a group consisting of NATD representatives and representatives of the University Square demonstrators, the communique released by Mr. Ion Iliescu's spokesman in the evening of 9 May distorts the truth, as it claims that it has already been agreed that the dialogue should start on 12 May with representatives of the University Square organizations alone. This is yet another diversion aimed at dividing the opposition.

2. The postponement of the dialogue on various pretexts is yet another maneuver used by the provisional authorities to block the revolutionary process of the democratization of Romanian society. Thus, it has been proved once more that we are the ones who really want a national reconciliation and the stabilization of the political situation in Romania and not Mr. Ion Iliescu and the National Salvation Front [NSF]. The refusals, postponements, disinformation, instigations, and calumnies are part and parcel of the specific strategy of communist regimes.

3. In spite of all this—since we place the country's need for peace and stability above everything else—we demand that the dialogue with Mr. Ion Iliescu and the representatives of the government take place on 12 May, at 1900, in the conference hall of the Bucharest Hotel and that it should be broadcast live on television. We have nothing to hide. We also demand that the press be allowed free access at the start of the dialogue and that both delegations should participate in a news conference after the end of the talks.

4. Here is the composition of our delegation, in alphabetical order: Gabriel Andreescu; Ana Blandiana; Constantin Dumitrescu, spokesman; Florin Gabriel Marculescu; (Dorele Mitic); Marian Munteanu, representative of the University Square demonstrators; Vasile Popovici; Georghe Serban; and Stelian Tanase; along with cameraman Eugen Popescu.

Peasant Party Withdraws From Unity Council

*AU1105125090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1105 GMT 11 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/5/1990—Before approaching the agenda of the Provisional National Unity Council's [PNUC] session today, the representative of the Christian Democratic Party of Cluj opined that the 25 draft decrees-laws included in the session's agenda should be transferred to the future parliament. Still, he tabled the presidium a protest of the Greek-Catholic Church signed by his holiness Alexandru Todea with regard to the decree on the retrocession of certain assets to that church.

President Ion Iliescu stated again that that decree had been an emanation of the senior hierarchs of the two churches Orthodox and the Uniate Greek-Catholic. Nevertheless, if the PNUC agreed, it could be discussed by the future parliament, after the two churches had debated it.

The Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party recalled its representatives from the Provisional National Unity Council. Reiterating arguments already known from the press and the television ("the wave of terror that rules the country", "the non-democratic arrogance of the National Salvation Front's president," a.s.o.) Mr. Ion Diaconescu, vice-president, presented his party's official statement, after which he left the hall together with the other delegates of that party. Their decision was received with applause and with apostrophes like "cowards" or "better you did it from the very beginning."

Mr. Nica Leon accused the PNUC president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, of not having taken into consideration the requests of a considerable part of the Romanian intelligentsia. To the jamming applause of the attendance, the speaker claimed that, during the PNUC Executive Bureau's previous meeting the proposal had been made that the wishes of the demonstrators in Bucharest's University Square and of the ones in other towns of the country should be discussed, and it was only the PNUC president who would have rejected it.

Mr. Ion Iliescu denied that assertion calling for the evidence of the Executive Bureau members and stating that no proposal of the kind had been advanced during the meeting prior to the session.

After one hour of preliminary talks, the parliamentarians decided to start discussing the agenda, which was

extended with an item of miscellanea. The proposal for a extraordinary session of the PNUC was turned down.

The debates started with item II—International Treaties.

Iliescu Addresses Open Letter to Nation

*AU1105124590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1026 GMT 11 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/5/1990—Mr. Ion Iliescu addressed the nation an open letter the reason of which is his concern about the anxiety caused by destabilizing action in the public life.

We live through a natural outburst of differences of views, options and information in the press, on radio and television, in street demonstrations, meetings, rallies, multiparty system and trade union diversity, he shows.

The very fact that debates proceed free points tellingly to the reality of the freedom of conscience and expression, a fundamental requisite of democracy, of the beginning of the process of democratization of the Romanian society.

Referring to the political structure emerged on the revolution days, Mr. Iliescu stresses that the National Salvation Front rejected the monopoly of power while polarizing instead all criticism and discontent, inevitable in the period of inherited economic, social and political crisis.

We do not claim to possess the absolute truths but we do not have wonder solutions either, Mr. Iliescu says. We perfectly understand it that, after so many years of fake unanimity and void monolithism, instance of mistrust shown to the leading factors are now part of a necessary and wholesome therapy with us.

Public life suffers where there is attempt to overrate artificially and purposefully the discontent, which is profoundly justified in itself, the explicable lack of self-confidence, the frustration inherited and ambitions generated by confusion. Minutely conducted manipulations are politically unproductive and morally disheartening. The anxiety felt by public opinion across the nation is caused by exclusivist slogans, obsessively recited untruths and sincere or fake fears apt to generate uncontrollable evolutions toward chaos and violence.

There are voices that have been questioning the voting law, the same which they voted as the most important legislative act born after the revolution. The people, that has made the revolution, is bluntly told, more or less delicately, that it is politically immature. The people would be deemed mature right away if one candidate were excluded and two or three more months were allowed for loudspeaker speeches.

The National Salvation Front most responsibly declares that such claims run counter to the precarious equilibrium of our social life and to the country's credibility in

the world. We have committed ourselves to a fair electoral process and we shall defend the correctness of this process.

We deplore the exaggerations and urge the responsible bodies and the whole electorate to avert and sanction them.

The National Salvation Front enters the elections after four months in which, insistently asking for the collaboration of all political forces, it induced the building of a new climate in the economic and social life.

After surveying the normative acts endorsed for the benefit of the nation after the revolution, Mr. Iliescu notes:

Our opponents maintain that anyone, especially they, would have done the same and even more in our position. That supposition we do not want to contradict. We know for sure only what we would not have done, had we been in their position: At home we would not have questioned laws we too, had voted, and on an external plane we would not have suggested to foreign governments to adjust their behaviour toward our country by political evolutions that did not suit some parties' interests.

Last, but not least, Mr. Iliescu goes on, our opponents, the ones loyally constituted into political formations and those who are so "apolitical" as to claim they have a right to make prophecies and arbitration, reproach us with two thorny they say points in the front's final divorce from our society's totalitarian past.

True, we have not opened the road to the state of law with a witch hunt. But those who are to be blamed for the country's disaster and for crimes against the revolution are prosecuted, undergo penal investigation or will, in step with the operative capability of the judiciary and prosecutor's offices.

No one will be spared, either executive or executor, liability for attempt on human dignity, for abusing power or for corruption. By case and evidences, action will be taken either by the judiciary or by democratic procedures of changing those who work on the power structures, on administration.

With the collapse of the "leading force" and of the totalitarian state as a whole, the nomenklatura and the Securitate have vanished as institutions. The individual liabilities remain and we must handle them with no lenience for individuals but with respect for the Romanian society. We fought in the Provisional National Unity Council and will fight in the future parliament as well, against the methods of the nomenklatura and Securitate of keeping people at the fringes of society, of breaking destinies based on records never tried or examined publicly. We do not intend to participate in the manufacturing of a class of second rate citizens, of an apartheid that should encompass several hundreds or thousands or several millions of fellow countrymen.

Now, back to the election campaign, we once more state our stand open to collaboration, constructive dialogue and national solidarity.

What is important on these pre-election days and after elections—no matter who wins—is that we head for democratic institutions, in a clear, open political climate. We wish this climate to have moral features sprung from truth, lucid-mindedness and a courage to look in peace to the future. A future that, above electoral differences, which only the voters can arbitrate, will have to have the full competence, energy and faith of all of us, for Romania's rebirth and reconstruction.

Pro-Government Rally Held in Bucharest

LD1105131790 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 11 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] A rally supporting the government is being held today in Bucharest in front of the parliament building. Miklos Lengyel explains why this is necessary in his report.

[Lengyel] This is necessary now for the authorities because nearly every important group has proposed that the 20 May elections be postponed. President Iliescu insists on this date because he feels that now he could still win the election, but later his chances of doing so will be much less.

I asked some passersby on the street what they thought of the demonstration in support of Iliescu; they had not even heard of it.

In the meantime, the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania has called on the two-and-a-half million strong Magyar minority to vote on 20 May against a roll back, that is—and this is what I add—they should not vote for Iliescu. The Association also states that it regards everything that happened in Romania since the 1947 communist putsch to be illegal. They oppose strong presidential power, and unequivocally advocate constitutional parliamentary democracy in Romania.

Relative Quiet at Bucharest Demonstration

AU1005180990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1614 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/5/1990—The demonstration in the University Square of Bucharest saw a moment of quiet on Thursday [10 May] at noon. There were few people in the area occupied by the demonstrators, gathered in larger or smaller groups. They were discussing topical political issues. More often than not these talks are contradictory having as a background tunes broadcast on loudspeakers.

A similar situation could be noted on the green space in front of the National Theatre building where tents are mounted.

Committee Set Up in Defense of Free Elections

AU1105084890 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0400 GMT 11 May 90

[Text] The 20 May Association Committee [Asociatia 20 Mai] was set up on 10 May in defense of free elections in Romania. This committee incorporates, apart from National Salvation Front representatives, representatives of trade unions, the independent press, students and youth organizations, independent figures, and political parties.

In conclusion, its founding declaration reads as follows: We call on citizens, all people of good faith, civic organizations, professional associations, trade unions, and political parties to join us to work toward maintaining tolerance and to combat [word indistinct] extremism, so that the elections may take place on 20 May and that they be truly free elections.

We invite all those who want the observance of the Election Law and despise violence to join us, today, 11 May at 1000 [0700 GMT], to join hands and form a belt of peaceful solidarity around the hill of the Metropolitan Church and Parliament. Let us watch over the peace and quiet of our future. Let us ensure the first free elections after 50 years of dictatorship.

Demonstration in Support of 20 May Elections

AU1105084990 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0800 GMT 11 May 90

[Text] A big demonstration is taking place at this time in [Bucharest's] Unirii Square, around the hill of the Metropolitan Church. The demonstrators are chanting: "Elections on 20 May."

Those present are carrying (?placards) and are (?chanting): We no longer want disorder and disorganization; we want elections on 20 May. We no longer want [word indistinct]; we will vote on 20 May. We want democracy; we want legality; NSF [National Salvation Front] national consensus, elections on 20 May.

Independent Group Calls for Election Postponement

AU1005191890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1607 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/5/1990—In a proclamation released in Bucharest on 10 May, "Romania's Rebirth" independent movement is of the opinion that "in order to avoid a fratricidal war, maybe even a military dictatorship," a definitive ban must be put on the right to candidacy of all those who seriously prejudiced the Romanian people: the members of the former CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], activists and Securitate people, except the dissidents in the former communist nomenclature, who took public stand against the communist dictatorship and those who took direct part in street fights during the

revolution. To stabilize the political, social and economic situation, the proposal is made to remove from all leading offices those who were part of the nomenklatura, the activists and the Securitate people.

By virtue of this "proclamation" those who were not in this country for a long period cannot run for president or prime minister. Standing as candidates for these offices can be only independent personalities, technocrats. A postponement of the elections until 29 July is also proposed.

Budapest Reports Magyar Association Protest

LD0805224190 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 8 May 90

[Text] The Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania has protested in a statement against the brutal abuses experienced during the election campaign. In the association's opinion, people in several places were stripped illegally of candidacy, and they were erased from the lists. They also condemn the extreme demonstrations whose objective is to intimidate representatives of the various Romanian parties.

Communique on Ratiu's Visit to Mures, Harghita

AU0905183890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1711 GMT 9 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—Taking the floor at an electoral meeting in Tirgu Mures, the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party candidate to presidency showed that, because of a life-long fight to support human rights and because of his access to Western governments, he represents for Western countries the guarantee that Romania will follow a democratic path shows a communique released by his press bureau concerning the electoral tour he made on May 6 and 7 in Harghita and Mures Counties when he visited the towns of Odorheiu Secuiesc, Miercurea Ciuc and Tirgu Mures.

The document also shows that Mr. Ratiu pleaded for the historic reconciliation between Romanians and Hungarians all of them being called upon to make their contribution to building the new democratic Romania, as well as for the granting of equal rights to all nationalities in Romania.

"The meetings in Miercurea Ciuc and Tirgu Mures were attended by thousands of people supporting Mr. Ratiu, the communique further reads. Unfortunately, as part of the counter-manifestations arranged against non-NSF [National Salvation Front] candidates, these meetings were also attended by the organized team whose aim is to prevent the people from listening to what they should not hear. Their hooligan attempt could not stop the meetings."

In conclusion, Mr. Ratiu congratulates the police bodies in the three towns for their competence in ensuring his and his assistants' security.

Campeanu Addresses Electoral Meeting

AU1005192090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1753 GMT 10 May 90

["Radu Campeanu's Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/5/1990—"Freedom is the fundamental principle on which the Romanian political and economic system should be set. It is only through freedom that we will make Romania what it would have been had it not been for communism," stated Mr. Radu Campeanu, candidate for Romania's presidency of the National Liberal Party, at an electoral meeting held in the Dalles Hall in Bucharest on Thursday [10 May].

"I am convinced that through everyone's intelligence we will make up for Romania's lag behind, faster than we even think," he said adding: "The real forces that will bring freedom are in us and they will help us vanquish."

Cornea on Election Campaign, NSF Prospects

AU1005171090 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 8 May 90 p 3

[Interview with dissident Doina Cornea by Andras B. Vagvolgyi in Kolozsvar on 6 May: "The Front Might Win, and the Nation Will Lose"]

[Text] Well-known Romanian dissident Doina Cornea also took the floor at the anti-communist meeting held on the main square in Kolozsvar [Cluj] on 6 May. Following the meeting, Doina Cornea gave an interview to our correspondent there.

[Vagvolgyi] According to your evaluation, a revolution broke out in Temesvar [Timisoara] in December 1989, but a coup took place in Bucharest. Could the two-week long student demonstration in Bucharest be the revolution in the capital city?

[Cornea] The student demonstrations taking place in Bucharest and in other cities in Romania are in fact solidarity meetings with the Timisoara Appeal, particularly with its Article 8. This Article 8 demands that the former communist politicians and Securitate members not be allowed to run in the elections for the period of three consecutive elections. This ban is necessary because prominent representatives of the old regime have reinfiltred their way into power, and it is possible that a previous agreement was reached on this at the time of the coup in Bucharest. Naturally, young people are shocked by this and feel that something has been taken away from them.

[Vagvolgyi] One of the main slogans of the demonstration is that the participants consider themselves to be "golans," that is hooligans, just like Illiescu called the students in Bucharest.

[Cornea] Indeed, he called the opposition hooligans, and he has apologized only recently. Therefore, today every decent person calls himself a "golan."

[Vagvolgyi] What is your view about the election preparations and the chances?

[Cornea] It is not good to be too optimistic, particularly if we analyze the events that have taken place in the past four months. These elections cannot be called free elections, even if they do not manipulate the results. If the election campaign is not free, the entire election is not free either. If the election campaign were free, the opposition parties would have good chances in these elections. Today, however, the National Salvation Front [NSF] rules television, where it extols itself and discredits other parties.

[Vagvolgyi] Which party do you regard as most promising?

[Cornea] I cannot yet tell you that, but I will tell you that the National Peasant Party has been very popular from the beginning, and they have been discredited the most by the Front. Thus, the Liberal Party could gain ground, and the newly organized Social Democrats are also in the arena.

[Vagvolgyi] A constitutional period of nine or 18 months will follow the elections, and new elections will be held after this period. What will this transition period be like?

[Cornea] It is highly probable that the NSF will win, but the nation will lose by this. However, everything is important in history and experiments are also necessary; thus, this transitional experimentation could also be important from the viewpoint of national awareness.

[Vagvolgyi] It seems that your opinion about the Hungarian schools has changed a little.

[Cornea] No, it has not changed. I have never opposed Hungarian education or higher professional education in Hungarian. However, I condemned the impatience of the Hungarians as early as in January. There were, and still are, Hungarian schools where Ceausescu also sent Romanian children. This was a mistake, but this is not these children's fault. These children should not have been humiliated by sending them away from school in the middle of the school year. In addition, the overall educational reform has not even started yet. Impatience is not good, and this was one of the causes of the psychosis in Tirgu Mures. Both sides were preparing for this well in advance. I was there during those days and I saw the injured. One could see the wounds and what caused them. Romanians had wounds caused by lead balls shot by sling-shots, and Hungarians had wounds caused by clubs. We demanded the arrival of Iliescu. If a government does not act, this is not an accident. The

events in Tirgu Mures were used as a means in the Hungarian and Romanian election campaigns. It is now our turn to be cleverer than the government.

Ceremonies Mark 9 May Victory Over Fascism

*AU0905183990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1718 GMT 9 May 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/5/1990—The anniversary of 45 years since the victory over fascism was marked in Bucharest on Tuesday by ceremonies when wreaths were laid at the Memorial to the Homeland's Heroes, the Memorial to the Soviet Heroes and the cemetery at Tincabesti of the British military dead on Romania's territory.

Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Provisional National Unity Council and the government, of the Ministry of National Defence, the War Veterans National Association in Romania and the diplomatic corps. A wreath was laid at the Memorial to the Homeland's Heroes on behalf Bucharest Police Inspectorate.

The attendance included Ion Minzatu, vice-president of the Provisional National Unity Council, Mihail Dragănescu, deputy prime minister, Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence, active and retired generals and senior officers, veterans of the two world wars, a large audience.

Present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Bucharest, military, attaches, other members of the diplomatic corps.

Military guards presented arms in front of the monuments.

Romania's national anthem was played at the Memorial to the Homeland's Heroes, while the national anthem of the USSR and the national anthem of the Great Britain were played together with Romania's national anthem at the Memorial to the Soviet Heroes and at the British Military's Cemetery, respectively. The charge d'affaires ad interim of the Soviet Union to Bucharest, V.G. Pozdnyakov, the military, air and naval attache of the USSR, members of the embassy were present at the Soviet Heroes' Memorial. Anthony Godson, deputy head of the diplomatic mission, the military attache, other members of the embassy were present at the British Military's Cemetery.

On the Victory Day wreaths were also laid at the Ghencea Military Cemetery, at the Soviet Military's cemeteries at Herastrau and Jilava, at the Romanian and Soviet soldiers' cemeteries all over the country.

Albanian 'Opening,' 'Democratization' Welcomed

*LD1005194490 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1815 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia welcomes every step towards Albania's opening and democratization, spokesman for the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Ambassador Ivo Vajgl said at a regular press conference here today.

It is difficult to obtain the true information from neighbouring Albania, especially information concerning changes, but there are indications that Albania is opening to the outside world, Vajgl told the assembled foreign and domestic reporters.

At a session of the Albanian People's Assembly yesterday [9 May], Albanian Premier Adil Carcani expressed his country's readiness to join the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Yesterday it was also reported that a Ministry of Justice has been formed in Albania, that the citizens have the right to be issued passports and that a number of amendments have been passed to relax the provisions of the penal code.

Kosovo Group Endorses Internal Affairs Transfer

*LD1005184890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 10 May 90*

[Excerpt] Pristina, 10 May (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Assembly Executive Council, at a session presided over by Jusuf Zejnulahu, endorsed a report on 10 May by the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the transfer of the organization, implementation, and execution of tasks relating to the protection of constitutional order on the territory of the province to the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs by a decision of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, with special emphasis on the position and work of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs following this decision. [sentence as received]

The council, as the statement from the session emphasizes, in examining the present position of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs, has assessed that since the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs has taken over these tasks, the duties and responsibilities of the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs and its organizational units in the field have been significantly reduced. The council considers that the present organization and systematization of the Provincial Secretariat should not be changed and that the organizational units of this secretariat should continue to function in the areas of duties that have not been taken over. [passage omitted]

Internal Exiles Group Set Up in Kosovo

*LD1005145790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 10 May 90*

[Text] Pristina, 10 May (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Liberties, an alternative organization exclusively for Albanians,

has established a coordination group for people who are in so-called internal exile. This refers, as stated at today's news conference, to citizens of Albanian nationality against whom the measures of isolation and detention were implemented after the introduction of the special measures in 1989. According to official data, there are 237 such cases.

This group was set up with the aim of preparing complete documentation about internal exiles and of influencing the responsible bodies to set in motion "discussion and a procedure for establishing the criminal responsibility of all those who had their say in determining and implementing the illegal measure of isolation."

As stated by former internal exile Ibrahim Osmani, former head of the the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Center for Information and Propaganda, the group will first address the constitutional court and then the Assembly and all other responsible bodies. If this proves to be unfruitful, Osmani stressed, then the group will be forced to use its civil right to bring private charges against those responsible for this measure.

Apart from Osmani, the following are members of the coordination group: Zenun Celjaj, as well as former internal exiles Salim Vlasi, Djemsit Vokri, Enus Dibra, Naif Zeka, and Binak Uljaj. Their activity should "restore illegally taken rights to people sharing their fate, and, above all, should reinstate them in their jobs," which the majority is without.

At today's news conference, Veton Suroi, chairman of the Pristina branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, informed journalists that a delegation of the Kosovo alternative movement that, apart from him includes Skeljzen Malici and Isuf Berisa, met Hisen Ramadani, president of the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Petitions and Complaints, in Belgrade. On that occasion, they delivered 43 notebooks full of signatures supporting the declaration "for democracy, against violence" that, as promised, will be put through the Assembly procedure.

Veton Suroi informed the journalists about the initiative to transform the Committee for the Protection of Arrested Members of the Youth Parliament, which ceased to function because the arrested members were released, into a committee for the protection of politically persecuted citizens of Kosovo. According to Suroi, such a committee should exist because "there are still people in Kosovo who suffer on account of their political convictions."

He mentioned that recently an Albanian was sentenced because he shouted "Kosovo, Republic." One cannot be punished for these words, Suroi holds, because "they express a political view." He also noted the sentencing of people who raise their hands in the victory sign. As a sign of protest, Suroi raised his hands in the victory sign in front of the journalists.

Among other illegal actions, Veton Suroi cited the decision to expel Albanians who are not Yugoslav citizens. He mentioned the case of Kutjim Hoti from Urosevac, who was ordered to leave the country although he was born here and is married to a Yugoslav citizen, with whom he has a child. He is, however, the son of an immigrant who refused to take Yugoslav citizenship.

Kosovo Alliance of Trade Unions Forms

*AU1105083790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
8 May 90 p 5*

[TANJUG report: "Trade Unions Have Also Joined Alternative Movements"]

[Text] Pristina—One more alternative organization has appeared in Kosovo—the provincial "Alliance of Independent Trade Unions." This was to be expected when, more than two months ago, ethnic Albanians started leaving the official trade union organizations en masse. Independent trade unions were then founded in many work organizations and institutions in Kosovo. At the end of that activity, the "Independent Trade Union" Presidium was elected and Dr. Hajrulah Gorani, professor at the Pristina Faculty of Economics, was elected its president. According to a report in RILINDJA, he informed the people present about his visit to the United States and talks with members of the American Federation of Labor. The members allegedly expressed great interest in the rights of the workers of the Urosevac Factory of Seamless Pipes and the Decani Factory of Piston Pumps who, according to Kosovo Albanians, have been unlawfully dismissed from their jobs.

New JEDINSTVO Publisher, Editor Named

*LD1005151190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 10 May 90*

[Summary] Pristina, 10 May (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People Provincial Conference Presidium appointed Dragan Malovic, a delegate in the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, director of the JEDINSTVO newspaper and publishing enterprise. It also appointed Radoslav Stojanovic, editor of the cultural page of JEDINSTVO, as JEDINSTVO chief editor.

Milosevic on Pressures Against Serbia

*AU1005193790 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 May 90*

[Report by Djordje Vljajic and Momcilo Boskovic on visit of Serbian Presidency President Slobodan Milosevic to Pancevo on 10 May]

[Excerpt] On 10 May, Slobodan Milosevic and the highest officials of the province and of Pancevo visited several work organizations. In the Pancevo Glass Factory, after viewing production plants and after the hosts briefed the Serbian Presidency president on the current problems and development plans of the Glass Factory,

Slobodan Milosevic addressed the workers [words indistinct] of the collective. Among other things, he said that the social reform in Serbia is now in full swing and has already produced some results in the sphere of the political system.

The present territorial and political setup of Serbia and the changes to the Constitution are indispensable conditions without which the social reform cannot be carried out to the end. Times of economic crisis and the great poverty among workers and citizens are far from being the most suitable times and conditions for implementing a reform. However, this does not have to be any reason for quarrels and conflicts among the people in the collective and even for the sometimes unjustifiable change of directors, as has sometimes been the case in our republic, Slobodan Milosevic pointed out.

Regarding the political system, apart from social changes carried out in March last year that solved the problem of Serbia's status within Yugoslavia, one will now start changing the complete Constitution, that is, adopting a new constitution that should make the republic politically free and its administration efficiently organized, ensuring respect for the equality of the people, and the development of the communist ideals of our times, Slobodan Milosevic said.

[Begin Milosevic recording] However, the reform we have been implementing in Serbia has been carried out under very difficult conditions, both regarding Yugoslavia and the world. We in Serbia cannot influence events around us—or can influence them very little—in order to eliminate the phenomena that hinder our reform. What we can do is influence events in Serbia. We have to direct them in such a way that makes implementation of the reform easier, that is, we have to protect ourselves from these pressures that make the implementation of our reform difficult or even call it into question.

One of the primary and most important conditions for being successful under the conditions of such pressure on Serbia, which can be equaled only by the one in 1914, is the unity of Serbia, the unity of its citizens, and the unity of its leadership. [words indistinct] [applause]

I am not emphasizing this need for unity only as a principle, that is, a requirement that holds always and for all occasions. I am emphasizing it as a special requirement under the condition of the current democratization of the political life. The orientation toward the democratization of political life in Serbia has been chosen with a view to making it possible for all individuals who want and can contribute to society's prosperity to express themselves in this respect and for all ideas to be carried out.

However, not all ideas and all individuals who appeared at this moment are motivated by interest in Serbian prosperity. Now when all ideas and interests are on the scene, such attempts are hidden behind alleged conflicts about so-called principled questions or ideological concepts. In my opinion, during these tempestuous times,

the interests of Serbia must be above all these questions. Serbia is the most important and the most valuable, principled, and ideological question. Its integrity and peace and freedom for all its citizens is a condition for its successful development and for solving all other questions. [applause]

Calls to various kinds of showdowns and [word indistinct] are only a trial battle cry calling for civil war. All this time, we have been witnessing an expansion of violent, primitive, and chauvinist speeches by representatives of some political parties. Although their so-called parties have not yet been constituted or registered, all the same, they have already been threatening the Communists and other peoples or nationalities. These threats are their entire political program and their entire political appearance. The Serbian state will not allow this running wild over its entire territory, from Dragas to Horgos [applause], just as we will not [words indistinct] before any kind of violence against sections of the Serbian people living outside Serbia. [applause]

Few peoples in the world are as aware as the Serbian people are that if there is anything one must put an end to, it is fratricidal war and war in general. Other peoples also had enough of mutual exterminations and wars. I am, therefore, convinced that all normal people in our republic and our country equally care about protecting themselves and their children from conflicts, hatred, and bloodshedding. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Further on Milosevic in Pancevo

LD1005214590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 10 May 90

[Excerpts] Pancevo, 10 May (TANJUG)—Everyday we have been witnessing an increasing expansion of bullying, primitive, and chauvinist moves by the representatives of some political parties. Although their so-called parties have not even been constituted yet, nor registered, they are already threatening the Communists, other nations and nationalities. These threats constitute their complete political program and their complete political promotion. The state of Serbia will not let anyone carry these ravages on its territory from Dragas to Horgos, nor will we sit back and do nothing if confronted with any kind of violence against those parts of the Serbian people living outside Serbia.

This was stressed by Slobodan Milosevic, Presidency president of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, in his speech to the workers of the glass industry of Pancevo. Milosevic began his stay in this town on 10 May by holding talks with the municipality's sociopolitical aktiv and visiting the Development & Engineering Department. In the course of this, he was greeted with hearty applause by citizens who happened to be in the streets.

In his speech to the workers of the glass industry, the SR of Serbia Presidency President stressed that Serbia's unity and that of its citizens and leadership was one of the most important preconditions for carrying out social

reform. It has been demonstrated over the past years that this unity has helped us to unite the republic and establish its territorial and political integrity. Equally, we also need it now for the changes aimed to facilitate Serbia's economic, political, and cultural prosperity, he emphasized.

Our commitment to the democratization of political life in Serbia was motivated by the desire to facilitate all ideas and enable all individuals, who want and can contribute to society's prosperity, to express themselves to this effect. Nevertheless, not all ideas and individuals that emerged are motivated by the interests of Serbia's prosperity. By taking advantage of the democratic climate, many are trying to launch political ideas that are not in the interest of the republic's prosperity, so they are forging alliances with hostile-minded forces outside Serbia, in Yugoslavia, and the world. Motivated by those old and permanent reasons behind the decades of our republic's humiliation and divisions, the anti-Serbian coalition keeps on striving to curtail, or at least to slow down, the successful and comprehensive conformation of Serbia as a state, Milosevic said.

Now, when all ideas and interests have appeared on the stage, such ambitions are disguised by the alleged disputes about the so-called questions of principles or ideological conceptions. In this stormy time, Serbia's interests must be above all these issues. Serbia is the most important and most cherished principled and ideological issue, Milosevic said.

The Serbian people, as no other nation in the world, know that if there is a thing to which an end has to be put, it is fratricidal war and war in general. Other nations are also fed up with mutual extinction and waging wars. So, I am convinced that all Serbian citizens, all normal people in our republic and our country are equally concerned with shielding themselves and their children from conflict, hatred, and bloodshed, Slobodan Milosevic stressed.

Serbia has tragic experience with its divisions and with making pacts with its enemies. If there is a historical moral and message for Serbia, then it concerns the unity of its citizens in a struggle for the preservation of the territorial and social integrity of Serbia. The founding of new parties in Serbia should be a step toward a further democratization, a step in Serbia's interests, and not a step toward conflict and to its detriment, Milosevic stressed. He went on to add that not everyone has to agree about the conception of Serbia's development, about criteria for what is progressive, especially about how to achieve progress.

Ideas and individuals expressing the interests of the majority will win, especially in today's democratic times. However, about what we must agree, about what there can be no negotiations, is territorial and social sovereignty of Serbia and peace for its citizens, Milosevic said.

The political parties that are prepared to trade with the territory of Serbia and its economic and political independence—which can draw people into a civil war—are not the kind of parties freely organized in conditions of a multiparty system, but at best they are groups of irresponsible individuals who are prepared to sacrifice the interests of their people for their personal ones, not to say that some of them are even traitors of their people, demanding and obtaining financial and political support outside Serbia in order to destroy its citizens by drawing them into mutual conflicts.

Milosevic went on to say that the most reactionary among them are those forces that are noisily suggesting that we should follow the examples of changes in the East bloc, as if we had a Romanian or a Stalinist regime and as if it were not a well-known fact both in Yugoslavia and the world that—in our struggle for freedom and independence—we were the first to reject that model. We Yugoslavs—who were the first and only ones in the world to have said “no” to the then-living and mighty Stalin—cannot now follow the example of those who after his death lived almost another 40 years in fear and who finally left their mouse holes to measure the tail of the dead wolf, underlined Milosevic.

Both then and now, we behaved with the dignity of free people and nations who have never allowed others to lead them. For this reason, we are sorry to see that in some of our republics representatives of foreign states are supervising and “guarding” freedom and democracy. In the same way in which we rejected Stalin’s imported socialism, we now do not need anyone to import democracy for us. In these past three years, we have demonstrated that we can fight on our own for democracy and justice for all people and nations living in our republic, and even if this were not so, no one outside Serbia, no external forces or arbiters, will make decisions about Serbia. Everything in Serbia will be according to what the Serbian citizens decide and no other way, Milosevic said, frequently interrupted by applause.

In the continuation of his speech to the workers of the glass industry, Milosevic stressed that Serbia had been the first socialist country to have embarked on a program of wide-ranging social reform, the first one to have confronted bureaucratism and opportunism in its own domain, the first one to have brought together the people and the leadership in their commitment to reform, the first one to have committed itself to a new phase of socialism as a society of democracy and wealth. The wave of great and positive social changes in socialism was started off in Serbia. Consequently, we have no one to look up to as a role model. Others may look up to us if they are capable of that, he said.

Speaking about the economic reform, Milosevic stressed that the material wealth that has been created in the social sector over decades has to be preserved. We will not allow the disintegration and devastation of the social capital created by generations of workers and their

efforts and sacrifice. This capital belongs to the whole republic, to all its citizens, the whole nation and to its unborn children.

A time of economic crisis, and above all the great poverty of a large number of citizens, is neither the most suitable time nor the best prerequisite for reforms. The fact that the conditions are unfavorable does not mean that people should start quareling in collectives, having unnecessary confrontations, and even toppling directors unjustifiably. The generations of people who bore the brunt of a failed bureaucratic system by their own poverty should not disable themselves now by starting mutual arguments while emerging from this poverty and humiliation, in their struggle for carrying out the great tasks they have undertaken and the reform we have embarked upon, the SR of Serbia Presidency president stressed.

[passage omitted explaining how Milosevic visited Utva aircraft manufacturers and Petrohemija from Pancevo, where he was greeted and briefed on results achieved in these two companies. He spoke about the need to exploit development potential in Serbia and take advantage of highly qualified and educated cadres]

Speaking about economic reform in Serbia, he said that the most important task was the transformation within the enterprises themselves. It would be without success to do what we are doing concerning the changing of the economic system, market-oriented economic policy, and a new development cycle unless the enterprises are active with new business initiatives, production programs, cadre changes, and introducing new forms of organization, especially new methods of motivating the employed. In the first phase of development, this is particularly expected of the most capable enterprises. [passage omitted on need to step up process of integration based on new forms of organization; all along the way to Vladimirovac, where he informally addressed its citizens, Milosevic was greeted; he said that Serbia would base its policy on national equality]

Bosnia Presidium Protests ‘Pretensions’

LD1005140390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 May (TANJUG)—Due to increasingly frequent territorial pretensions to this republic, propagations of civil war, and the sowing of hatred and fear, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference Presidium at the 10 May session voiced its protest with indignation. Stances endorsed at this occasion demand that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Socialist Republic Assembly adopt its own stand and raise the issue of constitutionality of political activity of parties jeopardizing territorial integrity of Yugoslavia in the Federal Assembly.

Forces with marked Greater Serbian and Greater Croatian pretensions, the adopted stances stress, espouse the retailoring of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the

National Liberation of Yugoslavia], announce their territorial pretensions over this republic, openly damage its state integrity, and deny the national identity of Muslims, the third-largest nation living in the SRFY. Old myths and dark pasts are evoked; some are playing at pro-Cetnik and pro-Ustasha feelings.

Program statements regarding territorial pretensions to Bosnia-Herzegovina, made in a multinational community such as Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina are — represent a historical destruction and a return to an historical abyss. Bosnia-Herzegovina neither owes anyone territories nor has pretensions over territories of any other republic.

At the 10 May session, the Presidium decided that the founding congress of the Socialist Democratic Alliance [Socijalistički Demokratski Savez] will be held on 22 June in Sarajevo. Republican conference delegates will pass their judgement on 11 May about this decision and the mentioned stances.

Bosnia President Rejects Territorial Claims

LD1005130190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0847 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 May (TANJUG)—Everyone in Bosnia-Herzegovina is seriously concerned over what is happening in our neighborhood, over what individuals, groups, and parties invoking historical borders of medieval kingdoms and historical rights to the territory of our republic or its parts are espousing. Dr. Obrad Pijak, Presidency president of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said on 10 May at a reception in the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina for employees of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the occasion of 13 May, Security Service Day.

Rejecting assaults on the statehood of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dr. Pijak underlined in connection with this that those historians forget the fortunes were shifting, that each of our nations in their tumultuous history had glorious and other periods, that the Bosnian state with its more than 700 years of statehood had borders that reached deep into territories that are currently, and will certainly continue to be, parts of Serbia or Croatia.

Montenegrin Assembly Approves Draft Amendments

LD1005164190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 10 May 90

[Summary] Titograd, 10 May (TANJUG)—Delegates to the Montenegrin Assembly today adopted the draft amendments to the republic's Constitution. The draft amendments now go before the public for discussion that will last until mid-June. In the political sphere, the draft introduces a representational instead of delegate system and envisions free, direct, and secret elections to all

Assembly chambers of sociopolitical communities. Candidates will be nominated by citizens rather than by the Socialist Alliance of Working People. The president and Presidency members will be elected by the Assembly on the basis of lists of candidates drawn up by the Commission for Elections and Nominations. The draft amendments also expand the list of civil rights and liberties.

Slovene Journalists Protest Assembly Censure

AU1005153090 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1330 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] The first session of the Slovene Assembly on pluralist principles has been assessed by many people as historic and as a turning point. This is justified. However, this also was a session of continuation—continuation of old Bolshevik manners that we thought had landed long ago on the rubbish heap of history. We used to ascribe and we now ascribe the threats to editors and journalists and demands for purges in the ranks of journalists to another time and another place. Drago Balazic comments:

[Balazic] It is not even all that surprising that journalists were the first and the most under attack at the new parliament's first session. The new politicians, like the old ones, know well what and how great the influence of journalists and the media on shaping public opinion can be. However, we would expect at least so much historical memory and sense from those who now threaten and demand replacements of journalists, that they would have learned something from the political regime they hate so much.

Journalists could not help the old monistic and voluntaristic regime even if they wanted or had to. Despite their undoubted influence and power, journalists and public information media cannot make an undemocratic and ineffective system democratic and effective. No purges in the journalists' ranks could save this undemocratic and ineffective regime from failure. They could only prolong its agony, the agony of society and of individuals in it.

If the new authorities, regardless of which political groups they are composed, follow this road, the road of replacing journalists, and if they want to see themselves in public the way they imagine themselves and not a bit differently, they will repeat the fatal blunder of their predecessors in the past decades and will think that only that is true about them which they think and write about themselves.

The demands for purges in the ranks of the journalists are, therefore, more than just an unpleasant surprise because many journalists have themselves felt the consequences of political voluntarism and single-mindedness—or mindlessness if you wish—as well as because we were convinced that with the great political changes in Slovene society, the time has come when

professionalism will be the only yardstick for differentiating among journalists, and that the times of political differentiations are behind us. Have we been wrong?

It seems that we have finally gotten rid of the Bolsheviks but not yet of Bolshevism in some minds. The protests of journalists, and, above all, of the journalist trade union organizations, are a revolt against political arbitrariness regardless of from whence it comes. They are a means to protect the integrity of the journalists' profession. This is the only purpose of the warning strike by radio and television journalists announced for 10 May.

Ljubljana Radio, TV Journalists Strike

LD1005211790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 May (TANJUG)—As announced, journalists of the Ljubljana Radio and Television went on a one-hour warning strike at 1900 this evening as a protest against an attempt to settle political accounts with them, according to what they are saying. Instead of radio and television bulletins, only major agency news from the country and abroad were broadcast, as well as information about their reasons for the one-hour warning strike.

Zagreb Journalists Offer Support

LD1005171190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Zagreb, 10 May (TANJUG)—Journalists are accused of being loyal to the former regime, and now it is demanded from them to be again loyal but to a different regime this time. It is forgotten that it was precisely journalists in their fight for truthful and objective information that made a big contribution to the spread of freedom and democracy, the dismantling of a single-party monopoly, and the establishment of multiparty system. This is stated in the text of support the Zagreb Radio and television independent trade union sent to the Slovene Independent Union of Journalists and Slovene television journalists.

Croatian Journalists Back Strike

LD1005170790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 10 May 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 10 May (TANJUG)—The Croatian Journalists Society Presidium, at its 10 May session, expressed professional solidarity and gave unreserved moral support to the strike of warning by Ljubljana radio and television journalists, scheduled for this evening between 1700 and 1800 GMT. The reason for the strike are public accusations and demands heard in the Slovene Assembly demanding persecutions, purges, and ideological account-settling with journalists, and the profession as a whole.

We resolutely oppose this drive for renewed political and ideological suppression of journalism. We are astonished

that this has occurred in the environment that was the example for others in its attitude toward journalism and its separation from politics, the Croat Journalists' Society Presidium stresses. [passage omitted]

Assembly Delegates Demand Stance on Slovenia

LD1005175690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 10 May 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—A group of delegates to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly from Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo sent a proposal on 10 May to Assembly President Bogdana Glumac-Levakov that the Federal Chamber adopt a conclusion calling on the state Presidency to present its stance on the performance, implementation of policy, and execution of the laws of the Yugoslav parliament by the state bodies of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

They also call on the SFRY Presidency to evaluate at the same time the consequences that such decisions, stances, and activities of this republic have or may have for the functioning of the SFRY's constitutional order, and for its continuing existence as a community of equal nations and nationalities.

Expounding this proposal, the delegates stress that it is untenable to continue tolerating the fact that the Slovene Assembly has adopted amendments to the republican constitution that the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has judged as contravening the highest legal act of the country. [passage omitted]

Since these and other activities by the responsible bodies in Slovenia represent subversion and an attempt to destroy the constitutionally established order, integrity, and sovereignty of Yugoslavia, the delegates propose that the state Presidency present to the SFRY Assembly its stances on these unconstitutional acts as soon as possible.

Party of Yugoslavs Wants National Referendum

LD1105084190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 11 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, May 10 (TANJUG)—A referendum which would answer the question of what kind of Yugoslavia we want is the only consistent and democratic way to help the citizens of the country have the future they want—this is the essence of a proposal announced by the Belgrade branch of the Zagreb-based Party of Yugoslavs at a meeting on Thursday devoted to current issues concerning the situation in the country.

The proposal for organizing a general referendum will be submitted to the Federal Assembly and government and the State Presidency so that "energetic, unequivocal and democratic action can be taken to help overcome the present chaotic situation in the federation and the constitutional crisis," party members said.

The deep crisis in Yugoslav society was provoked by partial interests and even separatist tendencies of individual federal units, i.e. their leaderships, the Party of Yugoslavs said.

According to the party's Belgrade branch—only one of many in the country—concepts and terms which are not in the present constitution, such as secession, asymmetrical federation or confederation are being used daily in public without “anyone asking the people about this.”

The Party of Yugoslavs proposes that the referendum be held under the auspices of a federal commission made up of delegates from the federal units, the Federal Assembly, the government and the army.

Markovic Assesses Changes in Political System

PA1105004290 Mexico City EXCELSIOR
in Spanish 28 Apr 90 p 6A

[Interview with Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic by EXCELSIOR's Regino Diaz Redondo in Belgrade on 27 April—quotation marks as published]

[Text] [Diaz] I would like your comments on the recent events in East Europe.

[Markovic] I believe those events took place as a result of a natural law. I say this because it is evident that the systems governing these countries were unable to solve the problems brought about by modern development.

[Diaz] Are you referring to the communist system that was in power in those countries?

[Markovic] What we call it is irrelevant. It is evident that this system was unable to resolve matters in order to attain an efficient economy and a political democracy. When the systems started to disintegrate, logically, because of their internal relations, they perhaps attached priority importance to affairs that did not deserve it. In any case, this always happens when a system—any system—disintegrates and another system is not available to substitute for it. However, all these countries expect a long process of changes.

[Diaz] The results of past elections in several European countries, including Yugoslavia, indicate that there is a certain shift to the right. Do you believe this is a danger for socialism?

[Markovic] The shifts to the right are a logical consequence of changes. It is always this way. When certain changes develop, the shift swings further than it would have to, by logic. For these reasons, it is normal to see the development of rightist trends, nationalism, separatism, and, in a sense, a return to the 19th century in many aspects.

“What is to be the final outcome of all this? Development will determine this. None of these countries will develop in an identical manner. It is a mistake to see

them this way. Independent of the natural laws governing the process, each country has its own peculiarities.

“One must not have the illusion that with these changes the entire process has ended. It is a process that has just started, regardless of whether new parties have sprung forward. The entire system must change, and this takes time. The structure of these countries, their economies, the structure of capital, the way of thinking of people who lived in one system and must now live in another—all these things, and more, are the elements that must be taken into account. This has just been a superficial listing of the elements, the first that came to mind.”

[Diaz] Do you believe this will harm socialism in the East European countries?

[Markovic] That is already a fact.

[Diaz] Does communism continue to operate in some of these countries?

[Markovic] Taking into account all that is happening, it is evident that we are witnessing a process in which socialism, as it was known up to now in those countries, is being abandoned.

[Diaz] You have stated that changes in each of the East European countries occurred because of separate, specific reasons. Could you quickly give me the main reasons for these changes in the six countries that have undergone recent changes?

[Markovic] I am afraid this would take more time. It is evident that none of these countries had been able to attain efficiency in their economies and, for this reason, were increasingly becoming more backward. It is also evident that the structure of their economies did not respond to the contemporary need to adapt to current conditions and development. The refusal to accept the idea of ownership—particularly private property—and the lack of competitiveness has always been “the Eastern bloc's sin,” a sin all socialist societies are guilty of. For this reason, the total rejection of the market—at a civilized level and as is practiced in the phase of the world's development—is what must have reflected negatively and resulted in negative consequences in all these countries. The political handling of the economy contributed to the creation of voluntary work, and from this party monopoly and an absence of competition arose. Thus, the main reasons for change in these systems are based on the principal characteristics, and these fill a wide spectrum that ranges from political to economic aspects.

[Diaz] Could we say that a detonator existed and that it was the perestroika detonator that started the changes in East Europe?

[Markovic] It would be difficult to say this. It is evident that perestroika could not have brought about these

changes. Most probably, internal problems were the ones that caused it. Perhaps perestroika allowed for it to be expressed.

[Diaz] Not a single shot was fired in any of the East European countries, there were no bloody events, not a single window was smashed, and nevertheless the big changes came about. Romania was the only exception, where there were bloody fights and even executions. In your opinion, how could this occur in these countries but not in Romania?

[Markovic] The less totalitarian a regime, the more democratic and less painful are the changes. However, the more totalitarian the regime, the more dramatic the changes, even with bloody results.

[Diaz] Right now there is an military and economic power imbalance between the United States and the USSR. One can see that the United States has the upper hand over the USSR due to the domestic problem the latter is facing. Do you believe this may represent a danger for Europe?

[Markovic] Of course, world relations depend to a great degree on the superpowers, firstly U.S.-Soviet relations. However, they do not depend exclusively on them—this refers mostly to Europe. After all, we are all witnesses to the extraordinary and intense development in all areas, which, among other things, is aimed at a greater integration of the European countries that for centuries were not only disunited but fought (they were at war) each other. It is a fact that the changes in East Europe will have an effect on West Europe. The unification of the two Germanies, which should take place sooner or later, will also have an influence on these relations. Anyway, Europe has more changes in store.

[Diaz] Do you believe that the serious problems the USSR faces in the international field, the problems it has had with Azerbaijan and Lithuania, weakens it in relations with the United States, and will this worsen the balance on a global scale?

[Markovic] All the changes that have taken place in the USSR are not the cause of its current problems. The changes revealed those problems, nothing more, as the problems were there before. It is clear that changes bring about modifications in the relations between blocs, among other things. The disappearance of the Warsaw Pact no doubt gives rise to an analysis on the need for NATO to exist. Everything that is happening regarding the CSCE must constitute the true basis for the construction of a new relationship of forces that will pave the way for solving problems and mutual contradictions in a democratic and civilized manner, as well as through other means, instead of by strengthening military forces.

[Diaz] Considering historic precedents, do you harbor the fear or the concern that the unification of Germany will take place?

[Markovic] I think no one can prevent the unification of a people if they so wish it. However, all the peoples who have sensed some degree of fear and gone through particularly difficult experiences as a nation want changes to take place within certain boundaries that would guarantee their rights and security.

[Diaz] If I understood you correctly, you support the elimination of the Warsaw Pact, which would provoke a crisis in NATO and would put its existence into question. Taking this matter into consideration, what would happen to the nonaligned countries?

[Markovic] The issue is not whether I support that. I am simply stating a fact. My support or opposition to blocs is another matter. I am opposed to all blocs, although this has no specific bearing on the courses followed on this matter. From a theoretical standpoint, in the event the blocs disappeared, that does not mean that new ones will not be formed. The chief reasons why countries arm themselves, and blocs are consequently formed, have not disappeared. But we cannot resolve this matter overnight. This situation is part of a process that humanity has just undertaken. There will always be countries and peoples that do not want to belong to current or future blocs.

[Diaz] Therefore, you do not think the nonaligned countries must continue to exist as such?

[Markovic] I think that they must continue to exist not only in relation to the existing blocs, but in relation to possible future blocs.

[Diaz] In what direction is Yugoslavia's political ideology heading—a social democracy or a Christian democracy?

[Markovic] All the changes taking place in our country are so complex and complete that they are opening up a process that produces—and will continue to produce more and more—changes in the economic and political system, and, as part of that, in the way the state operates. We started a process, based on pluralism of ownership and competition, that is the framework for the transformation from social ownership to social capital. We already created all the roof necessary for the market, an overall market of capital, labor, and merchandise. At present, we are experiencing a modern transformation of our state that is in line with the economic system, which is based on the market and pluralism of ownership. We are making room for the transformation of the political system whereby, through multipartisan expression, the citizens will decide the political nature of the society they wish to have.

[Diaz] There are reports about nationalist movements in southern Italy, France, and the GDR—fascist, neonationalist, and neofascist nationalism. Could this represent a danger for Europe right now?

[Markovic] All these current processes include liberals and socialists, Christian Democrats, and those who are

not only nationalists but neofascists, too. Certain changes on the right do not imply the creation of opportunities for the rise of fascist or neofascist forces to power and, in the process, become a new danger for Europe, the world, and peace. I believe that we cannot conclude that this is a process that, in a short time, might acquire the dimensions it had before the world war in Europe.

[Diaz] If you will allow it, I would like to ask you some questions about the economy. A deflation is currently under way in Yugoslavia. This was obviously attained by cutting public expenses, among other things. In your opinion, how long will this continue? We have been able to achieve this in Mexico and we now have 1.5 percent inflation per month.

[Markovic] I would make a slight correction. Our program to counter inflation has not been implemented by freezing prices. The program's main characteristic is that we have formed a convertible currency (the dinar) and we have established its course. All the other policies—monetary policy, fiscal policy, economic relations with other countries—are based on the currency that has been formed and its convertibility.

"From the very moment of the program's implementation to this day, our foreign currency reserves have increased \$2.5 billion, and we currently have a total of \$8.1 billion—even though we have released 90 percent of the imports and 95 percent of the consumer goods from restrictions; we have introduced the currency's convertibility and allowed the citizens to purchase unlimited amounts of foreign currency; and we have paid approximately \$4.2 billion in debts within 16 months, without receiving \$1 of aid from abroad.

[Diaz] Would Yugoslavia be prepared to join the EC in the near future?

[Markovic] Yes, I believe so.

[Diaz] Would this be a near future, a relatively near future, or a very near future?

[Markovic] We have agreed with the EC to be treated as an associate, which in the area of economic relations, should be similar to the relations between the EC and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. This means that, with a specific and symmetrical form of relations, it involves the formation of a free trade zone, for which we are now prepared. Taking into consideration that we have a convertible currency and that imports have been liberated, all we would have to do is create the appropriate fiscal system, a protection policy that would have to include certain standards, a patent policy, etc. All this must be regulated.

[Diaz] My next question is: Do the events in East Europe affect Yugoslavia in any way?

[Markovic] We welcome and support all the changes in East Europe. It is true that they also involve certain negative consequences because those countries have

barely begun to rebuild their economies. They have human problems and that is why we face a lot of pressure with the arrival of these people in our country.

[Diaz] There is concern about the possible destination of capital, which would have previously been diverted toward other regions, toward the East European countries. Do you share that view? Could the situation be normalized?

[Markovic] Yes, if you bear in mind that the amount of available capital represents a given value. Therefore, it is evident that its distribution among a larger number of interested people is more inconvenient.

[Diaz] Personally speaking, how do describe yourself? As a politician, as a person with social democratic, Christian Democratic, or Communist tendencies?

[Markovic] I have presented my own profile by opting for the complete modification of our country's system, that is, by implementing the new system. I think that I have enjoyed so much support in the country while structuring that new system that it is unnecessary to reflect if the profile is Communist, social democratic, social Christian, or any other.

[Diaz] In your opinion, is this the beginning of a period of greater progress, more justice, and more equality in the world after the fall of communism? Is it possible that the word "socialist" could be removed from Yugoslavia's name in the near future?

[Markovic] The process started by those changes will not be totally unilateral or linear. It will lead us to many ups and downs, and to new crises in some of the countries. Progressive achievements are possible, but dramatic falls are also possible. Seen from an overall perspective, we might say that this is a positive tendency in mankind's development, but the process cannot be exclusively uphill all the way—or without facing any problems along the road it must traverse.

"As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, it will continue along its own road. We are now able to enjoy such important results along this road that Yugoslavia will undoubtedly become the first country to be ruled by a socialist system that has overcome the crisis. All that matters to me is the nature of the new system that will exist in the country, not its name. That will be decided in our country, as in all the other cases. There is currently no initiative to change the name of the country."

Possibility of Markovic Forming Party Viewed

*AU1005120390 Zagreb VJESNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 90 p 3*

[Jadranko Sinkovic commentary: "What Kind of Party for Markovic?"]

[Text] Judging by the public's reaction, the recent television appearance in Croatia by the Yugoslav premier,

Ante Markovic, drowned in the hot preelection atmosphere of the second round of the elections. However, in all its conceptual elements—ideological, political-programmatic, economic-pragmatic, and promotionally polished details of the already stable image of the premier's complete personality—Markovic's appearance in the Zagreb Television studios has been one of his most successful political moves recently.

Even though many people expected that Markovic's speech would be an expression of support for the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes [LCC-PDC] on the eve of the second round of the elections, these expectations were in fact frustrated by the premier's resolute statement that he had not identified himself with any single party but that the LCC-PDC had in fact endorsed his program. This "shift" by the premier into his own kind of "supraparty" position was not in the least bit accidental. Several minutes later, he also announced the possibility of setting up his "own" party for the elections for the Federal Assembly, which will most probably be held by the year's end.

What does the announcement of the founding of a party of the current Federal Executive Council mean at a time when, after their election successes, national political organizations in Croatia and Slovenia are heralding a much more difficult position for the Federal Executive Council in the Federal Assembly than has been the case so far?

Is this only a question of a logical future maneuver by the current government to preserve—in the upcoming political (parliamentary) clashes in Yugoslavia—some possibility of an Assembly consensus over the government's essential reform plans? Since the Zagreb Television journalists did not ask him anything about this during the interview, an observer can only make guesses about the essence of Markovic's idea.

In this respect, two basic characteristics of Markovic's current "starting" position should be borne in mind. The first is his personal assurance and superiority and his political self-assurance above any party position. The second is the economic success of Markovic's reform project, which gives exceptionally good foundations to any new party in the incipient pluralist democracy, in which none of the present parties can actually offer a tangible guarantee of reducing the social hopelessness of the life of the average citizen. The aforementioned economic success of Markovic's reform, therefore, also opens up the possibility of the only truly new political option in our country: We are talking about a possible political position that is neither ideological, nor Yugoslav, nor national, nor even political in the same way in which seething passions, hopes, expectations, and fears are shaped in our country in specific political organizations and projects. In other words, Markovic's transideological and supraparty approach to the existential problems of the society, which he is "in charge of," offers in principle the possibility of a political option that is contemporary (in the American sense of the word) to the

same extent that the citizen with all his needs, desires, and opportunities has been shortchanged in the basic existential conditions of life.

Apart from that, if the new state governments in Croatia and Slovenia do not manage to find the vital response to what for now only seems to be the forgotten problem of basic survival with the existing wages and earnings, Markovic's political space suddenly becomes very wide. It would be difficult for anyone to topple him even in the eastern part of Yugoslavia if—despite the expected social troubles—the present trend of reduced inflation and the trend of the positive self-assurance of the premier continue in a future that should bring new employment, new wages, a new type of social security, and so on.

The transideological position of Markovic's economic project could suddenly be widened as a genuine political project for coexistence in the hilly Balkans, regardless of whether this project is called federal, confederal, unionist (not unitarian!), or something else. Markovic himself has clearly let it be known that he does not worry too much about these concepts, considering them to be products of passionate ideologization in our country. This means that a possible destruction of the Markovic government will be pretty hard work and will most probably be carried out with political "arms," if one of the basic (and open) holes in Markovic's economic project does not widen in the meantime.

Suvar Discusses Country's Future, Elections

AU1005185190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
5-6 May 90 pp 12, 13

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Presidency member Dr. Stipe Suvar by Slobodan Stanic; place and date not given: "Yugoslavia Is Not and Will Not Be Broken Up"]

[Excerpts] The name of SFRY Presidency member Dr. Stipe has recently again been in the focus of public attention in Yugoslavia and, above all, in Croatia. This is understandable considering the outcome of the first round of elections in this republic. He has also been in the focus of public attention because he "does not mince his words" in his assessments of everything that concern him. This was in fact the only "condition" that we set when we were discussing this interview for BORBA. Our first question was in the same style.

[Stanic] Is Yugoslavia disintegrating? What will become of Yugoslavia? Could you answer this not only as a member of the SFRY Presidency, but also a man who enjoys a reputation as a sociologist and a Marxist. After all, this is something all our citizens ponder. What is happening with us, with socialism in this country, and with the federal organization?

[Suvar] We are holding this conversation at the time when we are marking the 45th anniversary of the liberation of our country from fascist conquerors and their

internal servants. Tito led the victorious liberation army that, in terms of numbers and strength, ranked fourth among all the European armies that dealt the last blow to the fascist forces. [passage omitted]

Therefore, we have only one choice: to live together in an economically efficient way, which means a life based on clean accounts—sovereignty of the peoples, that is, respect for both republics and borders; sovereignty of the individual; respect for individual freedoms; and a democratically oriented authority, which assumes control of its internal structure and its functioning. The only possible context for all these programs is a democratic, modern Yugoslavia, a Yugoslavia integrated into Europe in which Nazism, Stalinism, and as it appears, neoliberalism have failed. What is left, therefore, is a peaceful way to democratic socialism.

[Stanic] Does this mean that without socialism and new socialist perspectives there will be no Yugoslavia?

[Suvar] A Yugoslavia as a nonbinding community founded on an agreement of the people who live in it is possible. Such a Yugoslavia would more or less be a geopolitical area in which everybody would be shifted about, an area in which the people would coexist, but also an area in which people would find it difficult to avoid continuous clashes and settling of accounts between one another unless they were linked with the ideas about progress, real togetherness, and relations based on brotherhood and unity. [passage omitted]

[Stanic] Of all our quarrels, the fiercest and the most dangerous quarrel, in terms of consequences, is the one about who, which nation, which part of the country, which leadership is contributing toward the disintegration of Yugoslavia the most. Who would you put in the first place?

[Suvar] Yugoslavia has not been broken up and I believe it will not be broken up. New forces will emerge and new relations that will help its integration will be established. However, the fact is that the work on breaking up Yugoslavia is in a full swing and that it hinders the incipient reform processes in the economic and political spheres.

Those breaking up Yugoslavia are, as a rule, "brothers in arms," and it is therefore difficult to say who is more "meritorious." The "breakers' game" was started by the Serbian-Montenegrin "antibureaucratic revolution." This "revolution" turned memorandum theses and the demands of classic Serbian nationalism into an excuse for "people to appear on the political stage" in Serbia and both of its two provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo, as well as in Montenegro. This was inspired and charged mainly by nationalism. What was and still is wanted is the arrangement of all of Yugoslavia according to the Serbian leadership's wishes. [passage omitted]

[Stanic] The elections in Croatia brought a victory to the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. True, the second round of elections has not taken place yet and the

majority of the Assembly members are yet to be elected, but it is obvious that the majority of voters expressed their trust in a party that many people in Yugoslavia and the world regard as a right-wing and purely nationalist party whose first aim is to break up Yugoslavia, break with socialism altogether, and settle accounts with the Communists. How do you explain such great confidence in Franjo Tudjman's party?

[Suvar] It appears that the HDZ will have the majority of delegates in the Assembly. However, 700,000—or nearly one-fifth—of the citizens did not vote. In the second round, this number could be even higher. Even though they did not vote for the HDZ, we can assume that they did not want to vote for the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Renewal either, or for the Alliance of Socialists, the Coalition of National Accord, and so forth. Many factors have contributed to the HDZ's success at the elections. I will mention some: people's great disappointment in the only party that existed up until that time; the effects of very aggressive propaganda (which made use of vast amounts of money in contrast to the League of Communists of Croatia that found itself impoverished; all the others did not have money either) suggesting that the Croatian people have not been free since the time of King Zvonimir and that they have regarded the first and the second Yugoslavia as a prison in which they have been persecuted and robbed more than they would have been had Croatia been a colony; and demagogic promises about rapid development, prosperity, and the inflow of some \$150 billion of "Croatian" capital from abroad.

It appears that this movement received votes from the people whose property was either nationalized or confiscated, from many unemployed people, the youth that failed in school, from many of those who have illegally built houses on the outskirts of cities and along the coast, from many of those who were in trouble with communal and other types of bureaucracies, from some 100,000 of our workers abroad who returned for this occasion especially and who tried to influence their relatives, and so forth.

The HDZ could be described as a party of petite bourgeoisie (because upper bourgeoisie has not been formed yet) and richer and more influential middle classes. Unfortunately, it also received a lot of votes from workers and peasants, people who live deep in the provinces, people who work abroad, people who live in neglected city outskirts and villages. Some of them voted because they were disappointed in our policies and institutions, in socialism and self-management, in brotherhood and unity.... The others voted because their vote did not concern their own life. [passage omitted]

[Stanic] The blame for the election results is put on other people and the events in Serbia and Yugoslavia as a whole.

[Suvar] Of course. The pressure of the Serbian-Montenegrin "antibureaucratic revolution" has

adversely effected the results of the elections in Croatia. Many people believed that Tudjman would be a worthy partner for Milosevic, for both settling accounts and bargaining, and that one should bare one's teeth to "them" Serbs. After all, in this sense the "Croatian side" too, very effectively used the methods of creating euphoria and the experience of meetings and nationalist symbols.

Some pictures and behavior at preelection meetings in Croatia strikingly resemble the meetings of the "antibureaucratic revolution." What can one, for instance, say about the meeting of the HDZ in Karlovac yesterday where people shouted to the members of the Coalition of National Accord: "Thieves, thieves." [passage omitted]

[Stanic] The recent policy of the League of Communists of Croatia has had a major effect on the outcome of the elections.

[Sutar] The League of Communists of Croatia has been getting weaker and weaker and losing touch with the "field," the workers class and people, for years. It was fading away through its attempts to devise a policy of silence and the policy of "do not rock the boat," through its attempts to always come up with something but not say anything, and through its behind-the-scenes alliances with others in Yugoslavia, with those with whom no bargaining should have been done. It should have conducted its own clear policy through all the years during which the party was first led by Miko Spiljak and then Stanko Stojcevic. What particularly affected the League of Communists of Zagreb—where the aforementioned leaders were not accidentally the most influential politicians—at that time was what I call "democratic bureaucracy." This and some erroneous moves affected the results of election in the capital city of Croatia in particular. Otherwise it would be very difficult to explain why the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Renewal had such results in the city with a rich revolutionary tradition, in the city in which the workers and communist movement was stronger than anywhere else in the old Yugoslavia. The results in Zagreb are even more difficult to explain if they were compared with those in other cities such as Rijeka, where the Communists are either convincingly leading or will win (similar voting took place in Pula, throughout Istria, Makarska, Sisak, Petrinja, and even in Split, Osijek, Karlovac, and the majority of the islands). The question of why the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Renewal fared in the elections in the way it did deserves a special analysis.

[Stanic] Whatever, the HDZ is assuming power. What can one expect from such a party in power?

[Sutar] Like every other party that assumes power, I think the HDZ will become more moderate than it was during the preelection agitation. In any case, it will not stay in power for 45 years! [passage omitted]

[Stanic] The party that has won the election is indicating that the Assembly will recall you from your duty as member of the SFRY Presidency.

[Sutar] If this request is officially made, I will demand, in line with the norms of the rule of law, an explanation, arguments for such a move, and a normal procedure, just as I demanded them at the time when the forces of the "antibureaucratic revolution" demanded my replacement on the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia or when they later opposed my election to the SFRY Presidency. [passage omitted]

Jovic's Views on National Constitution

AU1005145390 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: Europe Is on the Way to Becoming a Region of Peace"]

[Excerpts] SFRY Presidency Vice President Dr. Borisav Jovic has received Mr. Regino Diaz Rodondo, chief editor of the Mexican newspaper EXCELSIOR, and, in a long conversation, answered several questions concerning international relations and the present development of Yugoslavia. We carry here several excerpts from this interesting interview. [passage omitted]

The guest from Mexico wanted to know Jovic's opinion about the problem of German unification. The SFRY Presidency vice president said:

"German unification is primarily the problem of the German people. However, Germany is in Europe. It would be impossible to accept the unification of Germany without taking European security and the interests of all other peoples into consideration. Therefore, one can speak of the unification of Germany within the present borders of the two German states and one must recognize the consequences of World War II and the interests of other states and peoples."

Speaking about Yugoslav-German relations, among other things, Jovic said:

"Today we have excellent economic and political cooperation with both German states. We want to continue in the same way with the united Germany, too. We have been following all events very closely, and we also know much about what happened in the past: We have firsthand experience of that. The unification of Germany is important for us in all respects. It has to be carried out in conformity with the desires of the German people and the need for security in Europe." [passage omitted]

During the talk, great attention was devoted to the analysis of present international relations, various aspects of changes in the world, and the role of the great powers. Regino Diaz Rodondo pointed out the dilemma of whether the situation in which Gorbachev has found

himself provides an advantage for the United States and whether that represents a danger at a global level. Here is what Jovic said:

"It depends on how things develop. If they move toward the further lessening of tension, strengthening of confidence, greater cooperation, and universal security, then this does not have to present any special problem. However, if the stronger side takes advantage of the situation in order to achieve domination over anybody, then this may present a serious problem for the world." [passage omitted]

The guest from Mexico was also interested in Yugoslav orientation toward Europe and asked whether our country wishes to become a full member of the EC. The SFRY Presidency vice president gave the following explanation:

"There is no doubt about that. Europe is turned toward rapprochement and unification, but also toward the elimination of military blocs and political divisions. Therefore, if we become economically capable of withstanding the competition from the EC and if we join it to an increasing extent, we will certainly gradually get closer and unite in the economic sense. We hope that in the meantime political and military differences will completely disappear."

The Roads of Yugoslav Development

The question asked at the end of the conversation concerned further roads of Yugoslav development: whether Yugoslavia will remain a federation and whether there is a danger of some parts of Yugoslavia, a province, seceding. Jovic answered:

"At present, we have a federation according to the Constitution. The situation can be changed only if all republics and provinces agree to do so. To my knowledge, according to the present mood, the majority of republics and provinces are still in favor of the federation. Just as the character of the state cannot be changed by a majority, it cannot be changed by a minority either. Therefore, its character cannot be changed without the consent of everybody. If there is no consensus, then things will remain as they are. However, there is another thing: Every people has the right to self-determination, including secession. Of course, the SFRY Assembly alone can decide about that at the request of a certain republic or a people. Again, one needs the consensus of all the republics. However, autonomous provinces do not have the right to secede; a province is an integral part of the republic in which it is. We treat intentions of this kind as politically unacceptable and unfeasible."

We are now starting the preparations for drafting a new SFRY constitution that should solve the controversies that exist in our state and for establishing the character of the state, taking new ideas and suggestions into consideration. In any case, the solution to be chosen will be the one that suits our country and our peoples."

Presidency Considers Army's Attitude, Role

LD1005172590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 10 May 90

[Text] Belgrade, 10 May (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency has deemed that the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] acts as an important factor of cohesion and security in society and that the composition of the Army has a clear, principled, and constructive attitude toward reform changes and the development of our country. Here is the statement from the Presidency's session:

"The SFRY Presidency at today's session chaired by Vice President Borisav Jovic considered and adopted the report of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on the combat-readiness of the SFRY Armed Forces and the state of defense and self-protection preparations in society in 1989, and established the main tasks in developing and strengthening the combat readiness of the Armed Forces this year."

"It was judged that the Armed Forces' combat-readiness is at a level that ensures that tasks laid down by the SFRY Constitution are carried out. The intensified efforts of all factors of combat development and the SFRY Armed Forces have preserved combat-readiness, internal unity, and moral and political integrity. The YPA has acted as a significant factor of cohesion and security in society. The composition of the Army has a clear, principled and constructive attitude toward reform changes and developments in our country."

"In connection with the justified self-protection preparations of society, it was noted that a complex political and socioeconomic situation in the country has created difficulties in realizing tasks of all-people's defense and social self-protection, but the situation in this area is satisfactory on the whole."

"The SFRY Presidency considered information about the work of military courts and military prosecutor's offices in the past year and noted that military judicial bodies carried out their functions in accordance with the SFRY Constitution and laws."

"The SFRY Presidency will continue to resolutely oppose in the future attacks on the YPA's constitutional role and attempts to destroy the unity of the Armed Forces and will attempt to improve material preconditions for technical modernization of the Army. The SFRY Presidency paid a special tribute and expressed gratitude to the leadership and all members of the Armed Forces who, in difficult economic and political conditions, have carried out their obligations and tasks responsibly and successfully."

Current Military Problems Viewed

LD1005182990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 9 May 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 May (TANJUG)—The JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] is consistently based on the

spirit and letter of the decisions of the second session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ]. It will remain that. Whoever does not know that or would like to change that, that is his problem.

This was the comment made by Colonel Dr. Vuk Obradovic, SSNO [Federal Secretariat of National Defense] spokesman, during his regular news conference, on Dr. Franjo Tudjman's views expressed in his NEDELJNA DALMACIJA interview, in which he said that future development requires the JNA to be restored to AVNOJ principles instead of meddling in the political development of our society and that any Army attempt to hamper democratic processes would be fatal for both the Army and Yugoslavia.

Army members, Col. Obradovic went on to say, are confident that the struggle for the democratization of Yugoslav society, for which they too are working hard, does not imply encouragement for intranational confrontations, negation of the identity of other nations, political revanchism, revival of the fascist ideology of blood and land, support for violent violation of the constitutional order, reshaping of internal borders, and the breakup of Yugoslavia. These attempts must be frustrated by all the instruments possessed by the law-governed state precisely on behalf of the defense of democracy, human rights, and freedoms.

Regarding Dr. Franjo Tudjman's views on the military organization of Yugoslav society, put forward by the HDZ [Croat Democratic Community] leader in his recent interviews with DELO, DANAS, and NEDELJNA DALMACIJA, the SSNO spokesman said that this concept of military organization is completely at odds with the constitutional provision of the SFRY as a federal state. In settling this area, the federal Constitution is crystal clear and we must all abide by it.

Regarding the demand for the formation of a so-called Serb army heard during the Serb National Renewal meeting in Oplenac, Col. Obradovic said that their point of view was identical to Dr. Franjo Tudjman's similar efforts. [passage omitted]

Col. Obradovic said in reply to the question whether the possible appointment of Janez Jansa as minister for all-people's defense in the new Slovene republican government will influence SSNO cooperation with the

Republican National Defense Secretariat: "It is quite clear that nothing pertaining to the all-people's defense area that is incompatible with the SFRY Constitution and federal laws and that could pose a threat to the SFRY's defense capability will be acceptable, regardless of the personalities involved."

It suits our defense concept, and especially the status and role of our armed forces within it, and our specific Yugoslav political and intranational relations, that the federal secretary of national defense should be an officer on active service. This is how Col. Obradovic commented on the constant demands in some political quarters, especially in Slovenia, that the federal secretary of national defense should be a civilian. [passage omitted]

Having said that a squadron of NATO warships had left Trieste, sailed out of the Adriatic and continued its exercise in the Mediterranean, Col. Obradovic expressed surprise that virtually no one had commented on their presence there at the time of the elections in Slovenia and Croatia, while the visit by the federal secretary of national defense to the 5th Army area had still not been removed from the agenda of political discussions and from newspaper pages in some environments. [passage omitted]

In connection with the death of a Filipino man and the wounding of his wife when they were illegally crossing the Yugoslav-Italian border near Sezana, an in-depth investigation continues. Present findings indicate that border security forces have in no way overstepped their powers. This case was presumably the immediate reason for a protest by the Central Committee [CC] of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal, who asked the SFRY presidency to ban the use of firearms in the border area and called for border duties to be transferred from the JNA to the militia.

It is indicative that some people are more worried by the fact that our border guards consistently carry out their commitments than by the fact that attempts are made to cross our border in an organized and impermissible manner. We are surprised that the CC of the LC of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Renewal should side with those who illegally cross the border, said Col. Vuk Obradovic.